

BYZANTINE EDUCATION?
ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

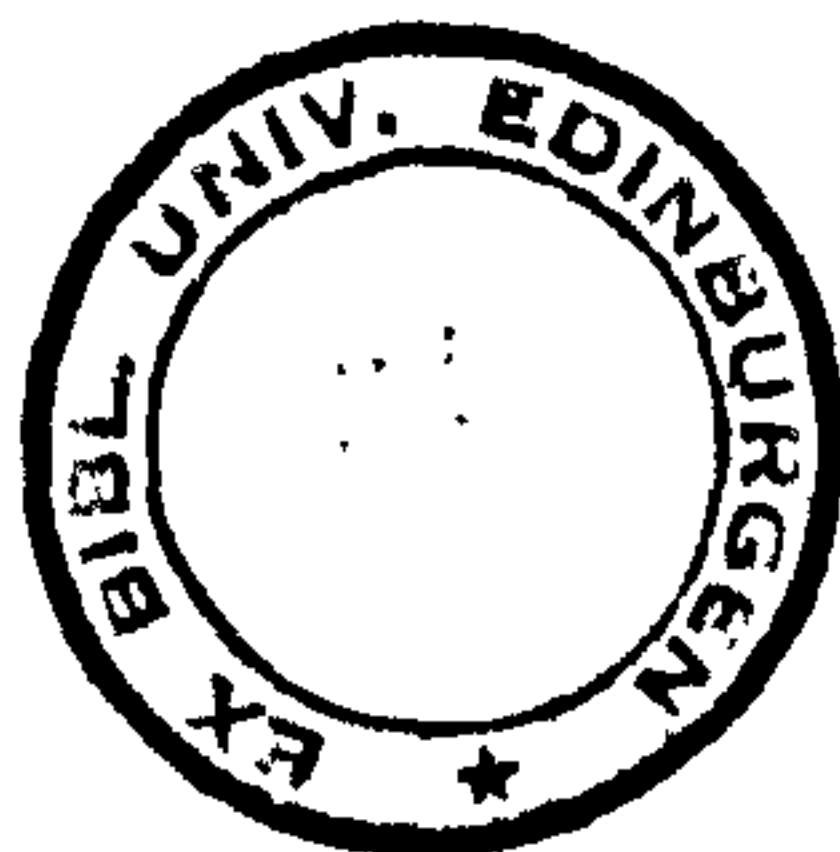
BY

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BYZANTINE EDUCATION:
ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

BY

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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE PH.D. COMMITTEE
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S U M M A R Y

Byzantine culture and education was the outcome of a fusion of the Greek civilisation and the Christian teaching. The early Fathers being Christians in faith and masters of classical scholarship brought very close together Hellenism and Christianity and formed a new educational theory, which had its implication in the educational practice. They first gave a new ideal - the ideal of "Good Christian" - that could become the aim of Byzantine education. The cardinal virtues of the Greeks along with the Christian virtues were its content. Stress was also laid on the social side of education, and not only on the individual's perfection. The educative value of Greek learning and wisdom for the preparation of "Good Christians" was well estimated by the great Fathers on the whole; this made later Byzantines accept and cultivate the classical studies in their schools.

The Byzantines believed in the importance, the value, the necessity and the power of education; but they also recognised that its power was limited by the factors of heredity, environment, etc. They paid due attention to the personality of the teacher, and rightly estimated the value of example and love in education, and wanted the teacher to be well educated, good psychologist and versed in the methodology of teaching. They noticed the fact of gradual growth and change in the child's development as well as the individual differences in children, both of which the teacher ought to take into account in instruction and guiding. The maxims of activity and instruction through the senses were broadly propagated. The methodology of teaching, the problems of learning and school discipline were also examined successfully for the most part, both theoretically and practically.

In practice there was an interest in education from all sides: the people, the State and the Church. The parents cared for the right upbringing of their children and for their education. The Church showed special interest in elementary education, the formation of "Good Christians" and some other branches of post-primary education serving this purpose. The State was primarily interested in higher education, which served its needs in administration services. The monasteries also offered many services to education, though the monastic spirit on the whole was opposed to humanistic studies.

The child's education started from his birth, at home. At about the age of six the child went to primary school for 3-4 years, run by the

Church or private teachers, to be initiated in the "sacred letters". Despite the efforts made to improve the methods of instruction and guiding, in practice tradition dominated and the pupil met with many difficulties in learning. Secondary education, which lasted for 3-4 years was provided in Grammar Schools by private teachers and was of a purely secular character. Its chief aim was the hellenisation of the pupil's tongue. Higher education was given in the schools of Rhetoric, mostly private, and other institutions functioning in the capital and other provincial centres at times. The study of Rhetoric was very popular in Byzantium and the State and local authorities supported it, by appointing teachers for the instruction of Rhetoric, Quadrivium and Medicine. Those who wanted to get further education could do so in the University of Constantinople and the Occumenical School, where education was free.

The traditional methods of instruction were used in Byzantine schools, although efforts were made to improve them, as regards some subjects at least. The curricula from the primary school up to the University were very broad, so as to provide sufficient general knowledge, and at the same time impart specialised knowledge, for instance of Greek language in the Grammar Schools, of rhetoric in the school of rhetoric, and so on. Quadrivium was also taught in the higher schools in Byzantium.

In addition to all these Byzantine education offered its services to the West also through able teachers, from the 14th century on, thus contributing greatly to the flourishing of humanistic studies there.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E E N T

I should like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to Professor John Pilley, Head of the Department of Education at the University of Edinburgh for his encouragement and the valuable advice he has given me as my supervisor in the course of my research, without which this work could not have been brought to light.

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P R E F A C E

The student of life and civilisation of the Byzantines easily realises that he is studying one of the great periods of the Greek civilisation - a period, however, which has its own character owing mainly to the influence of Christianity. This civilisation has its roots in the remote past of ancient Greeks and its branches in the life of the succeeding Greek generations and of the West. We get this feeling by studying the various manifestations of this civilisation, in the arts, sciences, and the social, political and religious life of the Byzantines; and especially by studying the problem of their education in theory and in practice. And it is this problem that I have chosen to try to explore.

The problem of Byzantine education has relatively recently attracted the full attention of Byzantine scholars, when it became clear that for a more objective estimation of political and other events in Byzantium it was necessary to take into account the factor of education as well. The aims and the ideals about the life and the universe that education gave to the leading figures of political events, for instance, direct in most cases their activity and thought. Human endeavour is always directed by some purpose and becomes effective only if some kind of guidance is given to those who strive for the realisation of this purpose. Education, then, being an essential function in any rational society, has an enormous, though sometimes unnoticed, influence in shaping the whole life of the individuals and the society they belong to. The historian must never forget this or diminish the role of education in general.

Apart from this special reason, however, Byzantine education is a study deserving attention for its own sake also. Because it is an education of value and quality, the refined outcome of two interacting and co-operating forces, namely of Hellenism and Christianity. Its examination will show us how good the educational theory of the Byzantines was, how it was affected by the admirable educational theory of the Greeks and how it absorbed this theory to form new educational standards, and how it served an Empire which presented the first christian civilisation in Europe - the so called 'Greco-Christian' culture - on which the development of our European civilisation is based. The study of the educational prac-

tice in Byzantium will also reveal how the valuable similar practice of the past was infused in the educational system of the Empire and exploited by the Byzantines in the formation of a new practice and a tradition for the generations to come. In brief the historian of education shall have the opportunity to see what great influence the Greek cultural tradition could have on those who accepted it as their own, what dangers it involved particularly in the development of a new educational theory and practice and in what way the beneficiaries of this tradition formed their own culture, which in their turn they delivered as a priceless gift to posterity.

But to write about education in an Empire with an intense life of eleven centuries is not at all an easy task. The student has to deal with many and complicated educational problems, and study from the educational point of view the preceding and the succeeding periods, in order to see the problems in question in their proper perspective. The information he has to obtain is difficult to gather for many reasons: First, we do not seem to have complete educational treatises like Quintilian's "Institutio Oratoria", for instance, by Byzantine writers on education - exceptions do always exist -, which would make the investigator's task easier; he, then, has to read as much of the existing literature as he can. Second, despite the progress of printing many works by Byzantines dealing with educational matters stay in the stores of numerous libraries in the West and in Greece unpublished in manuscripts, being therefore not accessible to investigators like me working in remote provinces of Greece. Third, the works available are by no means of a uniform language, style, etc; most of them are written in idiomatic language, obscure in meaning, with very long periods, which makes the task of their appreciation a problem. In addition, many such works, - lives of Saints, epideictic speeches, encomia and so on -, aiming at making impression rather than giving the bare facts, do not follow the 'golden mean'; exaggeration is their main feature in favour or against the heroes they deal with, and objectivity is considerably limited. Then, their composers have naturally their own points of view, which make them judge the facts at hand differently. The old soldier Cecaumenus, for instance, in his "Strategicon" accuses the humanistic movement directed by Psellus and his friends, whereas Anna Comnena praises it highly. The investigator, therefore, gets into much trouble in such cases

and needs further sources and time to examine the problem more deeply to reach his own conclusions. However, my wish to deal with the problem of Byzantine education and my ambition to present a picture of it for the fulfilment of a Ph. D. requirements have motivated me to undertake this hard and painstaking task.

I have tried to approach and examine the problem both from a theoretical and a practical aspect. The whole work has been divided into two parts. The first deals with the educational ideas of the Byzantines; the second with their educational practice. In part I, after a short introductory chapter, where some information is given for the better understanding of the character of Byzantine education, comes the main chapter dealing with various theoretical problems, such as the ideals and the aims of Byzantine education, the views of the Byzantine educationists on the value, the necessity and the power of education, on the factors influencing the task of education, on the teacher's personality and his professional preparation, on the psychological ideas having application in education, on the principles and the methods of teaching, and finally on the crucial problem of school discipline. Part II is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter I try to weigh the role played by the people, the State and the Church in education. In the second chapter I examine briefly the pre-school education. In the third chapter I speak about primary education in due detail, examining the problems of its history, of the curriculum, methods of instruction used, and the life in the primary school. In the last chapter I deal with secondary and higher education. I examine in full detail the problems of grammar school and very briefly the problems related to the schools of rhetoric and to further higher studies. My attention was mainly concentrated on the second chapter of part I and on all chapters of part II, except for those points concerning higher institutions in Byzantium, for the mere reason that the latter have become the object of study of many investigators in Greece and abroad, thus leaving not much room for original research. My aim was to work from first-hand sources, from the works of Byzantines themselves, and in the second place to go through the existing bibliography. To bring the ideas of the Byzantines closer to the reader I have decided in most cases to quote them as they were originally expressed by them, avoiding comments where the text itself

provided or makes them obvious. It has taken me much time, though, to decide which quotations from the numerous I have found were most appropriate in order to give a sequence in the examination of all problems discussed. Whether my choice was successful or not it is not for me to decide.

In judging now the achievements of Byzantine education we may observe the following. First, the Byzantine educationists tried to formulate a new educational ideal, aiming at the creation of a human being having his feet on earth and his 'spirit' on heaven -- the ideal of "good Christian". Inspired by the teaching of Christ and having been acquainted with whatever best was found in Greek thought and cultural achievement, they portrayed a new human being willing to strive continuously for perfection after the image of God -- the perfection of the Divine. Second, the Byzantine educationists on the whole stressed the importance of humanistic studies in an education serving the ideal mentioned. The humanistic spirit which characterised St. Basil and all other Great Fathers of his day was conveyed from century to century almost without any noticeable interruption through the teaching efforts of Photius, of Arethas, of Psellus, of Eustathius of Thessalonica, not to mention the endless array of those Byzantines of the last three centuries who helped the flourishing of the Italian Renaissance also in the 14th and 15th centuries. Third, related to this humanistic spirit is the fact of the transmission to us intact of the treasures of classical scholarship in many manuscripts and commentaries, philological corrections, etc. made upon them. Fourth, the christian notion that all men are equal in the sight of God found its application in the educational theory and practice of the Byzantines. As a result every Byzantine, regardless of his social status, could be educated and aim at securing a high State or Church office, provided that he was competent and had the diligence and zeal for his perfection. There always existed educational opportunities -- though limited --, especially for those who wanted to pursue higher studies in the State University or the Oecumenical School in Constantinople, for instance, where education was provided free of fees.

But the educational system in Byzantium had its defects as well. First, it was on the whole too much dependent on the great educational tradition of the Greek, the Hellenistic and the Greco-Roman past, with the result

that, apart from some changes in the methodology of language instruction mainly, no thought for radical innovations could be made. Second, the educational practice in Byzantium was left too far behind its remarkable educational theory. This is especially noticeable in matters of school discipline and the methods of teaching adopted. Third, the support on the whole of an artificial, as it were, language from the learned men of the Empire prevented the spreading among the masses of the important ideas expressed by them and made almost impossible the leading of the vast population towards a more refined culture. Fourth, the Byzantine education, being basically of philological character, did not take the advantage of the progress made in sciences during the Hellenistic period to foster scientific research. It only preserved this knowledge, generally speaking, by transmitting it from generation to generation - with the exception of some fields on the technical side, and the fine arts, and of some individuals like Arethas, who dealt with criticism of classical texts, on the philological side, or Psellus, who tried to establish the method of free scientific enquiry, or of some scientists of the last centuries, who in some cases presented original works, like Meliteniotes's work on astronomy. Nevertheless, the cultivation of the sciences up to this extent only can indeed be considered an achievement in itself considering that: (a) the general atmosphere in the Middle Ages was prejudiced against scientific research; (b) the students of sciences were faced with shortage or even complete lack of means-aids necessary for any serious scientific enquiry; (c) the Empire was almost always in a continuous state of war not favouring study in general.

No doubt there are many other points for one to examine critically, depending on the attitude one adopts and the criteria one uses. In regard to Byzantine education the critic must enter into the spirit of that remote period, the thoughts and the feelings of the people and the conditions under which they lived. When one considers all these things properly and remembers that the Byzantines lived in a continuous state of war - which created the feeling of uncertainty and insecurity -, and in a world of ignorance, brutality and hostility, one will be content with what the Byzantines have achieved and also grateful to them, because they managed not only to remain civilised but also to refine their civilisation in the sieve of Greek culture and Christian spirit and create their own, the Byzantine civilisation, that Greco-Christian civilisation, whose benediction came down to the present day like the blessing of God to humanity.

P A R T I

BYZANTINE EDUCATION - THEORY

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I would like to give some information helpful to the better understanding of the educational problem of the period; namely, why its education was Greek and yet why the Christian element played so important a role in it.

The B.E. lasted for about eleven centuries. Its end is rightly put in 1453, May 29 (A.D.), when its capital, Constantinople, was captured by the Turks. As for the date of its establishment, there is no agreement among the historians. This is not strange at all since the B. E. had never been born. It had emerged gradually from the heart of the declining Roman Empire (1) and it was the outcome of a gradual development and fusion of many elements among which the most important were: the Roman tradition, Christianity and Greek Civilisation. Nevertheless, there is an outstanding event, the removal of the capital of the Roman Empire from the old Rome to the "New Rome" - or Constantinople or Byzantium - in 330, May 11, which can be taken as the date of the first establishment of the B. E. This year marks a new era (2) in the history of Rome. K. Krumbacher thinks of 324 A.D. as a more fitting date, as "a start in politics, religion, etc. of the Byzantine era", (3) though the event of the complete separation of the great Roman Empire into two, viz. the Western and the Eastern, in 395 A.D. seems to be a still clearer landmark. (4)

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV, p. ix; also: Baynes and Moss, "Byzantium", p. xviii.

(2) Trypanes: "Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry", p. ix; also: Baynes, "Byzantine Studies.....", p. 74.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 1, vol. I, p. 17.

(4) Ibid., 1, pp. 2-3, 8.

The B.E. has been characterised as θεοστήρικτον κράτος" (1) - i.e. a power whose foundation is God from the first day of its emergence, and it kept this title and character till the end of its life. Christianity became not only the official religion of the State, but its backbone as well. (2) We do not need to enter into any details here, in order to prove that Christianity became and remained for ever a vital force in the B.E., and that because of this its influence on education was inevitable, strong enough and beneficent to it, as we shall see below.

That Roman tradition lived on in the B.E. is clearly seen in the political administration and organisation of the Empire. To this fact some scholars attribute the long life of the B.E. (3). It is true, of course, that the Roman Law, recodified by Justinian as well as the administrative system of the old Rome operated almost throughout the life of the B.E. But in the course of time many modifications were brought over both of them, some of which were even introduced during the age of Justinian himself. Thus many deviations from Roman Law were imposed by the new attitude towards slavery and family life, for instance, due to the influence of Christianity. (4). As for the system of government this had already lost most of its Republican features before the foundation of Constantinople; thus the B.E. had inherited an absolute monarchy closer in spirit to the Hellenistic monarchy of the pre-Christian era than to the Roman principate founded by Augustus. As the time went on the Hellenistic element predominated more and more, though many Roman features persisted. A deviation from the old system of administration, on the other hand, is seen in the mode of administration of those Byzantine Emperors who, following a development already visible in the earlier Empire, became the all-powerful governors at the expense of the Senatus, which remained a body with formal duties, its vote being - with few exceptions - just an approval of the Emperor's decisions.

(1) Baynes "The Thought-World of East Rome", p. 15; also Baynes: "Byzantine Studies....", p. 58.

(2) K. Krumbacher Ibid., I, vol. I, pp. 10-11.

(3) S. Runciman "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 61.

(4) Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", p. 15.

That Greek civilisation was the third important element of the B.E. is beyond question. (1) The Greek civilisation had become after Alexander the Great a universal one; in addition, the B.E. was founded on Greek territories; the capital itself was already a Greek city founded in the 7th c. B.C. by Greeks from Megara; its native inhabitants were fully aware of the Greek inheritance, and the others, though from different parts of the Empire, lived on the whole according to the Greek way of life and spoke the Greek language in which they also received their education, both classical and religious.

Out of the intermingling of the above three factors,, (2) we must bear in mind, the Byzantine Empire gradually emerged, with its distinct "Greco-Christian" civilisation, because of its two predominant elements: the Greek and the Christian. (3) We shall see this predominance in the study of various problems of Byzantine Education being greater than in any other manifestation of the social life of the Empire.

As regards the boundaries determining the geographical area of the B.E., these were never the same over a long period of time. First because the life of the B.E. coincides with a period of great migrations of nations from the North and later from the East, and secondly because its extent was intimately related to the vigour or the decay of it and of its neighbours. In order, therefore, to give a picture of the geographical area of the B.E., we must always remember these two facts affecting it.

It would perhaps be best to begin with an enumeration of those parts which, roughly speaking, remained under the direct possession of the B.E. throughout its life; namely Metropolitan Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean Sea and Asia Minor. During the first centuries of the B.E., however, other lands such as Syria, Palestine, Egypt and South Italy were among its vital provinces from every point of view. With the appearance and the frequent attacks of the Arabs first and of Turks later

(1) Cambridge Medieval History, vol. IV, p. viii.

(2) Baynes and Moss; "Byzantium", p. 89.

(3) Encyclopaedicon Lexicon "HELIOS" (in Greek), vol. 7, p. 261; also Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", p. 13.

all these fertile provinces fell into their hands, whereas South Italy was lost to Normans. In the northern parts of the Empire again, we have continuous changes too, because of the Slavs and Bulgars, who tried to establish themselves on the territory of the Empire and extend their sovereignty more and more southwards in the Balkan peninsula. Later on, at the end of the Empire's life, with the development of the marine city-states of Venice and Genoa many islands of the Aegean Sea were captured by them, as well as some parts of metropolitan Greece - and from 1204-1261 Constantinople itself was in Latin hands.

To these, of course, we must add as a geographical space the Mediterranean Sea area included among the above mentioned lands; it is this Sea that was one of the many sources of power and glory as well as of prosperity of the B.E.

The above outline of the geographical extent of the B.E. helps us to understand better the composition of the population of the Empire from the point of view of its national character. The Empire's backbone, viz. Metropolitan Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea, had acquired a Greek consciousness long before Christ. It was primarily due to Alexander the Great's civilising efforts, however, that the Greek population and with it Greek Civilisation and language were spread out towards East and South (Syria, Palestine, Egypt). Egypt itself became intellectually a second Greece not only during the Hellenistic period, but also for a long time after it.

Then with the conquest of Greece by the Romans other Greeks also migrated to the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea from Asia Minor down to Egypt. These Greeks with their inexhaustible vitality gave their soul and form to all these places. In this way Alexander the Great's task was gradually completed. The Greek language from the days of Hadrian (r. 117-138) was the only one for those who lived in these lands to communicate with (1) and the Greek Civilisation - viz. education and culture -

(1) Trypanos, "Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry", p. ix; also Baynes and Moss, "Byzantium", p. 13; see also H.I. Marrou, part III, ch. III, pp. 255-264 for the fluctuation in the linguistic frontier.

the only characteristic feature of the civilised man in these areas. It is worth noticing, in connection with the above, that even Rome was highly affected by the Greek Civilisation; Rome was in fact, the only part of the contemporary world which really assimilated the Greek Civilisation.(1)

Despite this fact, the B.E. did not achieve its national unity and Greek-Christian character until the seventh century. In the seventh century, with the reduction of the B.E. to an area in which Greeks composed the majority of the population, we clearly see the emergence of the national character of the B.E., a product of the gradual fusion of the Greek and Christian elements. The remaining foreign elements - with the exception of Armenians - could now be easily absorbed and assimilated.

From this time onwards, then we can speak without hesitation about the B.E. as having achieved its internal unity, (2) both religious (Orthodox Christian dogma) as well as national (Hellenism). And so much so that even Pope and all western people used to speak as late as the ninth century of the Emperors of Byzantium as "Emperors of the "Hellenes" and had stopped using the term "Roman". The realisation of this same fact on the part of the Byzantines, on the other hand, had as a result that they turned with a greater zeal than before to the ancient Greek Scholarship; this in turn produced an earlier Byzantine Renaissance long before it appeared in the West, viz. in the ninth century, with the outstanding figure of Photius at the centre of this very fruitful movement. Ever since this era the Byzantines had believed themselves to belong to the "honourable nation of Greeks", of Christian Greeks.

(1) Encyclopaedicon Lexicon "HELIOS", vol. 7, p. 671; Horace's words also speak about this fact: "Graecia capta forum victorem cepit et artes intulit agrest Latio" (Ep. II,1,156).

(2) G. Finlay, "Greece under the Romans", 1856, p. 350.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL THEORY IN BYZANTIUM (1)

The student of the works of learned Byzantines has no difficulty in seeing the profound influence of Greek writers and of the Great Church Fathers upon them. New views were expressed from time to time but even so their dependence on the rich and varied Greek, Hellenistic and Christian tradition is obvious. This is easy to explain. The outstanding intellectual tradition of the Greeks produced in the Byzantines not only admiration for the men who had advanced so far in the field of human knowledge and wisdom, but also a sense of their own superiority. The Christian tradition, as well as the Christian intellectual creations of the first centuries of the Byzantine era also produced similar feelings and ideas in them. Indeed, the spiritual contribution of St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. John Chrysostom and some other distinguished churchmen of the 4th and 5th cc. was very rich and excellent. In their writings almost every possible topic, religious, social, philosophical, educational, etc., was discussed in an admirable way. For this reason their works became and remained classics. Thus for two reasons every later Byzantine worth his salt who was engaged in learning felt it was his basic, fundamental duty to become acquainted with them; first for his own better preparation; secondly, in order to be able to make his own contribution in the field of letters, a contribution which always bore the signs of the influence of the ideas of the Great Church Fathers - if not those of the Ancient Greeks as well.

As a matter of fact the position of the Great Fathers in the history of Byzantine culture is predominant. Just as the student of philosophical or sociological problems cannot ignore Plato's or Aristotle's views, so the investigator of the life and civilisation of the Byzantines cannot understand them if he ignores the writings and activities of the Great Fathers of the 4th and 5th cc. mentioned above. Only in this way can he trace their influence upon later Byzantines not only up to the final fall of Constantinople, but also beyond it, throughout the Turkish

(1) The term 'Byzantium' is used throughout instead of the phrase 'Byzantine Empire'; it does not mean the city of Byzantium, except where so indicated.

occupation, and even until our own day. In regard to Byzantine Education, to ignore the ideas of the Fathers would be an unpardonable error, since in this field they showed a warm interest and had a great influence. The theory and practice of education in Byzantium is also based to a great extent upon the ideas of the ancient Greeks and of the Hellenistic world, as these ideas had been assimilated and delivered to the Byzantines by the Great Fathers. These Fathers, viz. St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory of Nyssa, are distinguished by their all-round education embracing both profound learning and a complete knowledge of Christian teaching. They lived and acted at a time when the B.E. made its first appearance on the political, cultural and spiritual scene of Europe. It was, therefore, natural for them to become pioneers in the formation of Byzantine culture - the commonly recognised founders of Greek-Christian culture in Byzantium. By a happy dispensation of Providence, I would say, they lived at a historically important moment for Christianity, at a time when Christianity had recently been officially recognised as the State's religion. Thus Christianity had to demonstrate in practice its power as a factor in the education and "taming" of human beings. By having been initiated in Christianity and Classical Greek culture and learning, the Great Fathers were able to comprehend the problem of education in all its extent and importance with that impartiality which such historical moments demand. It was easy for them, then, to see the real value of classical learning - of *encyclos paideia*⁽¹⁾, generally speaking - and to allot it its proper place within the whole educational system designed for the new Byzantine generations. They understood that classical Greek learning together with the study of the Bible were the only safe means by which a man might realise perfection in accordance with his destiny as a being, made after God's image and able to resemble Him.

We are nowadays in a position to realise more and more clearly their great contribution in the field of the intellectual development and the Education both of Byzantium and of Modern Greece; though it is worth noting that the recognition of this contribution dates a long way back. Official state recognition began in the 11th c., when a special day was devoted

(1) The meaning of 'encyclos paideia' is explained below pp. 136-38.

to their memory, still celebrated in Greece with reverence and splendour, and known as the "Day of Letters" (1). However, the Church recognised the work of the 4th and 5th century Fathers long before, as appears from the decisions of the Oecumenical Councils of the Church as well as from the testimonies of Church personalities who lived soon after them. In the works of ecclesiastical writers there is a persistent tendency to refer to opinions of the Great Fathers on any topic on which they have written. In addition, the writers use the opinions of the Fathers to support their own arguments. And finally, "encomiums" are showered on the Fathers for their valuable work.

In the course of this discussion I shall try to present the educational ideas of the Great Fathers and at the same time the ideas of later Byzantine writers. In this way the reader will, I hope, be able to form his own ideas about the dependence of the latter from the former. The reader will also have the chance to see the dependence of Byzantines on the Classical and the Hellenistic periods, though their dependence on the latter will perhaps be still better seen in the chapters concerning the practice of Byzantine Education.

The topics intended for discussion here are chiefly different aspects of the theory of education - its aims, value and effects; various factors of education, the teacher's personality, some basic psychological notions related to education and teaching, the principles of teaching, and, finally, class discipline. The ideas expounded are based on extracts from works of Byzantine writers, who either wrote special chapters on educational topics, or by chance referred to such matters. I have to use passages directly referring to the bringing up of the human child and youth. This, however, has not been possible on every occasion. So I have sometimes had recourse to similar ideas concerning adults - either monks and priests or pious laymen. I realise the risk arising from such a method. If, however, I have chosen this way, it is only in an effort to give as complete a picture as possible of every topic discussed.

(1) The celebration concerns St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Chrysostom, and though John Mauroπους was the first to advise it during the reign of Constantine X (1042-1054), the date of the 30th of January was fixed in 1081, when Alexius I Comnenus became Emperor at Constantinople.

1. IDEALS AND AIMS OF BYZANTINE EDUCATION

In every organised society which wants to survive, an effort is made to guide the way of life, thought and feelings of its members in a single direction. This is considered necessary for the sake of the community to which they belong, as well as for themselves as individuals. This duty is left to the State to perform. The State tries to foster a sense of duty and obligation in its members towards itself; further it seeks the help to this end of any other organisation or spiritual force within itself. As far as the Byzantine State is concerned there was no difficulty in the discovery and use of such forces; these, apart from the administrative system of rule inherited from the Greeks and Romans, were Hellenism and Christianity. Thanks to those combined factors the Byzantine State achieved, despite the conflicting ideas of individuals or groups, a unity of the spiritual and political life which was not to be seen in the Medieval West - or, at least, not to the same extent. (1) In fact a careful study of Byzantine literature will reveal a variety of ideas and views; but in the background basic ideals of life are ever present, preserved intact throughout, and providing motives for action. These ideals were the Christian faith, patriotic feeling, love and devotion to family and respect for tradition. They appear in every literary work of whatever merit and in all Byzantine authors of whatever education, and whether known to us by name or anonymous. If on occasion one or more of these ideals seems to lose its brightness, this is not due so much to the Byzantine people as to the inability of the central government to secure good administration. Individual Byzantines rarely renounced their Christian faith or their love for their country or family. Epics similar

(1) K. Krumbacher, comparing the Byzantines with the Western people, says that in Byzantium there was a powerful positive spiritual life and a unity which did not exist in the Medieval West. In writing specifically on literature he says that when we study literature in Byzantium and in the West we see that "from medieval Latin literature the unbroken unity", which we see in the Byzantine literature, "is missing, and the same is true of the national, political and social basis" of the Western States. K. Krumbacher, *B.B.L.*, 2, vol. I. p. 41.

to that of "Digenis Akritas" remain as the best proof of this. An Akritas might feel as an equal of his Emperor in State security matters, but he could never be disobedient to him and could never despise his own Christian faith. He would respect family bonds and tradition. A look at his palace would prove the latter easily. In it wall paintings illustrating Greek mythology would be found side by side with icons. Greek tradition and culture was always respected in Byzantium, because of its superiority and achievements in the intellectual and artistic fields. Thanks to its greatness the Greek civilisation managed to inspire the Byzantines with a sense of pride and it continuously attracted them with its spiritual content. Of course, the Byzantines considered themselves natural heirs of this culture. This explains why they embraced the educational system of Greeks in its essentials, as this system had been moulded during the Hellenistic period and practised since then under the Romans. The fact that Greek civilisation and culture was a living influence on the emotions and culture of the Byzantines was an additional reason why its educational system was adopted.

Nevertheless, this educational system was practised in the schools of Byzantium rather differently from the way it had been practised by the Greeks themselves. A number of marked changes in theoretical and practical ideas on education took place in the meantime. The first marked change is to be seen in the ideals and the aims of Byzantine Education. This happened mainly because of the Christian character of the B.E. It is true, of course, that Byzantium as a State was founded on the model of the hellenised Roman administration and was grounded in the spirit of the Hellenic civilisation and culture. But Byzantium was above all a "C h r i s t i a n E m p i r e". The superiority of Christianity as a religion of love and of equality and justice was obvious. That is why it found no difficulty in capturing the hearts of the Byzantines and their rulers.⁽¹⁾ What, then, more natural than that educational theory and practice should be deeply influenced by Christianity? The Great Church Fathers of the East of the 4th and 5th centuries realised it very well. After a deep study of all the social problems and the culture of their day they came to the conclusion that Christians could also become "good

(1) D.K. Hesseling: "Byzantium and Byzantine Civilisation", pp. 7-10.

citizens". To this end an educational system imbued with the Christian spirit was what was needed. The Great Fathers, then preached that it was the duty of every Christian to obey the State, provided that the State would respect every one's faith in Christ. After all Christ Himself acted in the same way: "He was registered when still in the womb", Isidore Polusiotes says, "and paid tax to Caesar, laying down that we should be s u b j e c t to the State, when this is not harmful to piety...". (1) It is obvious that the concept of the "good Christian", who lives in a well-governed community, never comes into collision with the concept of the "good citizen", in the minds of the Great Fathers. The attribute of being a Christian was indeed the fundamental attribute of every Byzantine citizen. We have already mentioned that this attribute linked the subjects of the Empire together, despite their racial differences, during the first centuries of its life. (2) One can now see why the Church Fathers' efforts to form "good Christians" was encouraged by the State. As time went on Christian faith and patriotism were more and more associated together in the minds of Byzantine Greeks. The Emperor carried out every war for the love of Christian faith and fatherland -ὅτι καὶ πατρίδος καὶ πίστεως (3) To form "good Christians", then, was an ideal aim, into which the formation of good Byzantine citizens was also included. We need, therefore, see the content of this new ideal propagated by the Church Fathers of the East as an aim of Byzantine Education.

In ancient Greece education aimed at the transmission on youth of four virtues: justice, prudence, bravery and wisdom. It also aimed at an artistic training. As time went on, from Pericles onwards, education paid much attention to the intellectual at the expense of moral side of education. It is on this point that we have the main difference in the new ideal of the "good Christian". The Great Fathers clearly pointed to the need for the cultivation of one's inner nature as a moral being

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- (1) Isidore Polusiotes: Letters I, 48 (to Epagathus) in Migne:P.G. 78, 212.
 (2) Alex. Diomedes: "Byzantine Studies", Athens 1942, p. 139.
 (3) Constantine Bonis: Euthymios Malakis, p. 59.

according to the teaching of Christ. "Now, indeed," St. John Chrysostom says, "that their children may be instructed in the arts, letters and eloquence, everyone doth studiously contend; but that they may cultivate their souls few or none are at all solicitous. " (1) This cultivation should be done "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord", of course. In this quotation one sees the difference between the old and the new. The former discipline did not aim at "aretê" as Christianity wanted it. In fact the Great Fathers do not deny or neglect the value of the former training, generally speaking. They accept it but they note it as inadequate. They insist, as the moralists Plato, Isocrates and Plutarch also did, on the need for an internal cultivation of a man's being. But the cultivation recommended is not exactly the same as that which Plato recommends, of course. No doubt the four cardinal virtues of which Plato speaks had to be defused in the young Christian's soul, but they were not enough. His complete education could be achieved only by permeating his soul with Christian virtues as well, such as faith in God, charity, love for one's neighbour, humility, and so on. The Great Fathers, as well as all other Byzantine writers, highly respected prudence, wisdom, justice. As for bravery we have excellent examples of thousands of adherents of the new faith, especially during the great persecutions of the first centuries of Christianity. And in their Epistles to teachers of encyclical paideia and their pupils, the Great Fathers and other writers spoke many times about these cardinal virtues of the ancients. (2) But they always proceeded to mention the Christian virtues as well, without the acquisition of which one cannot become a "good Christian".

Looking at the above ideal more carefully we see it trying to create socially-minded human beings as well, ready to charitable acts according to the Christian doctrine. Such an up-bringing could be pursued by strengthening of the feeling of love (3) towards one's neighbour - in the

(1) St. John Chrysostom, "How parents etc. ", para.18.

(2) St. Basil, On the hex. IX, 4, in Migne P.G. 29,196; see also Isidore Pelusiotes; Letters II, 151 (to Theophilus), in Migne P.G. 78, 604 f.

(3) Sir E. Livingstone in his book "Ideals of Greeks" (pp. 169 and especially 168) speaks of "Love" as being a higher virtue than happiness; happiness being the highest virtue in Greek culture.

sense outlined in the parable of "good Samaritan" - and fostering the ideas of mutual consideration and of unification of all human beings in one flock with Christ as shepherd. The individual, respected as a free human being, had to be put to the service of the Christian community - and in our case the Byzantine christian community - from now on. This meant, of course, the predominance of the social virtues in him, and especially of the virtue of love for his neighbour. After all man is a social being by nature. "Nothing is more characteristic of our nature", St. Basil says, "as communicating with each other, needing each other, and loving our fellow-creatures". (1). What the Christian virtues should be like in actual life and how they were to be achieved, was taught by the Great Fathers themselves. For in their own lives they offered, first to their contemporaries and then to the generations to come a model of what "good Christian" should be. So we find St. John Chrysostom fighting for the sake of his suffering brothers and for morality and bearing exile and privations for the sake of his Christian belief; or St. Basil living in full accord with his preaching sacrificing of his possessions - for he originally was very rich - to relieve suffering by building up the famous Βασιλειάς^(£), a series of charitable buildings in Caesarea. His own way of life so deeply impressed his contemporaries that friends and opponents paid him respect both during his lifetime and after his death.

The view of man as a social being was held by many later Byzantine writers, too. They tried to keep this idea alive in the hearts of their compatriots, from the least citizen to the Emperor himself. The "community" -κοινωνία- ought to stand above all, and its power and preservation ought to be everyone's supreme duty. The Emperor had a duty to respect the laws more than anyone else, because his example was readily imitated by his subjects. Only under such presuppositions were law and order, discipline and security in the state possible. "If the king does not respect the Laws", the patriarch Nicolas I says, "then who is going to respect them?" (2) On the other hand, "when the community is saved", he says,

(1) St. Basil, The Longer Rules, [I], 1, in Migne, P.G. 31, 917 A.

(2) Patriarch Nicolas I, Letters 32 (to the Pope), in Migne, P.G. 111, 200.

(£) St. Greg. Naz.: "In praise of St. Basil" in Migne P.G. 36, 544 C; also Sozomenus: Eccl. Hist. VI, 34, in Migne P.G. 67, 1397.

"all are saved and their belonging as well." (1) From this one sees that it was every individual's duty as well as interest to respect the "community", its laws and prosperity.

However, beyond the individual's duties towards the community and his obligation to acquire the basic social virtues, he has duties towards himself. The individual must pursue his own personal perfection, the Great Fathers say - and all other Byzantine educators agree with them. First of all, it is necessary for him to know and realise what is his real aim in this life. He has to realise mainly that he is a spiritual being, that he has an individual soul belonging to him alone, for which he is personally responsible. Indeed the Great Fathers could not consider sufficient, i.e. worthy of human beings as spiritual creatures, an education aiming either at scientific knowledge alone, or a general education for its own sake, or full success in material life, and so on. For "we Christians", St. Basil says, "...hold that this life is not a supremely precious thing, nor do we recognise anything as unconditionally a blessing which benefits us in this life only ... but we place our hopes upon the things which are beyond, and in preparation for the life eternal do all things we do." (2) This view, and exactly the same destination for all human beings, is accepted by St. John Chrysostom, (3) and all the later Church personalities; for example, Michael Choniates says: "We do not suppose that either knowledge, or Aristotelian 'happiness' or Epicurean 'pleasure' is the object of man's life, but rather that in the coming new age he should partake in the kingdom of God for ever: to which only the fulfilment of divine bondage leads." (4) Learned laymen also accept the same view, for example Michael Psellus (5) as well as poets. (6)

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- (1) Patriarch Nicolas I, Letters 92, in Migne P.G. 111, 297; Thomas Magister "De Subditorum officiis" 6-13, 22, in Migne P.G. 145, 508-521, 537.
- (2) St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc." 2, in Migne P.G. 31, 565.
- (3) St. J. Chrys.: On John, 24, 3, in Migne P.G. 59, 147.
- (4) M. Choniates: in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc.", vol. I, p. 11; Germanus II, the patriarch, also says: "Let us therefore seek the higher things, think higher things, and living by the spirit, press towards our first fatherland: and let us abhor as an enemy every hand, or deed, which thrusts us down, and let us be zealous to return with honour whence we were dishonourably expelled", in Lagopatos S.N.: "Germanus II etc.", III, 3, p. 220; see also Nic. Blennydos in Migne P.G. 142, 608-609.
- (5) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in E. Mathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 40.
- (6) See poem "Spaneas" (Σπανέας) lines 148, 150-51 or the moral poem by Jamplakos (Τζαμπλάκος) lines 111-15, etc.

In brief the Byzantines, as Christians, thought of $\kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\eta$, as they used to call the Christian virtue, as the man's supreme purpose in life. It is that virtue which leads a human being beyond earthly things. Thus it is explained why "concern with morals is not a good in itself, but a means to an end", (1) the end being the $\kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\eta$, the highest human aim in this life.

However, the view held about the perfect human being was that he ought to combine reason, virtue and faith! Isidore Pelusiotes addressing a letter to the sophist Harpocras praises "reason" - $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ - which, following Paul, he considered as the highest of the gifts to man from Heaven, and concludes as follows: "Reason is a divine thing, virtue is diviner, and faith the most divine. I define the first as an ornament, the second as a body, the third as soul. Who, therefore, has all three is unscurpassable and complete." (2) We note in passing that what Isidore says here reminds us of Comenius' similar ideas on the purpose of life and of education. Equally interesting in this connection is what St. John Chrysostom says that "he is not a man who merely has a man's hands and possesses only the power of reason; but he who freely practises piety and virtue." (3) This was how the Byzantine writers - especially the Church Fathers - imagine the perfect man. In the Great Fathers we can see all these qualities, - reason, virtue and faith - incarnated in a harmonious synthesis, forming the model to be followed by all men. Do we need other testimonies to realise the width and depth of this ideal propagated by the learned Byzantines - especially the Fathers - for Byzantine Education, as its supreme aim?

The value of it increases still more, however, if we remember that such an ideal was meant for all people, rich and poor, officials or not, and not only for a class of people - as in the case of the "free citizens" of the ancient Greek cities. All people had a right to education, no

(1) Michael Psellus: (In praise of Michael Cerularius) in K. Patas B.G.H., vol. IV, p. 312.

(2) Isidore Pelusiotes: Letters, V, 162, in Migne P.G. 78, 1417-1420.

(3) St. John Chrysostom Catechesis II, 1, in Migne P.G. 49, 232.

matter whether they made use of it or not. Paul's statement that "all men are equal in the sight of God", had found the proper answer in the education of Byzantine people. (1) This ideal became the aim of Byzantine education: on the moral side - including feeling and will - it could be achieved by encouraging a manner of life, whether individual, family or social, in harmony with the Gospel's commands; as for the intellectual side and the cultivation of reason opinions differ. Some thought the Bible the only appropriate means to this end, Others, the vast majority indeed, thought human knowledge, and Greek wisdom especially, would be a useful aid in the cultivation of "reason" and a means preparing for the understanding of the Bible and leading to a man's moral development. Of course, there were certain presuppositions: Like Plato they recommended teaching only the "healthy ideas" of Greek philosophy and literature, thus achieving both ends at the same time, the intellectual education of youth and its moral education.

The view that Greek learning properly scrutinised was a necessary preparation for the understanding of the Bible, and therefore for the preparation of "good Christians" had been expressed long before the Great Fathers of Byzantium. It can be attributed to St. Paul (2) in the first place, but it was greatly propagated by the apologists of the second century. They had their reasons for this, of course, During the first centuries of Christianity many learned pagans - even philosophers - became converts to Christianity. Their previous secular learning made them able to discern the spiritual content of Greek paedeia and to observe that many of the ideas expressed by Greek thinkers as Homer, Plato, and others were in accordance with the Gospel's instruction.⁽³⁾ Consequently the

(1) The idea of equality not only of men but also between the sexes was propagated by many fathers. Thus Eusebius of Caesarea argues "that not only men but women also and every race of mankind needs to aim at the aforesaid education", Praeparatio Evangelica XII,32, in Migne P.G. 21, 1009. Gregory of Nyssa, on the other hand, says, "Woman, too, is made in the image of God just like the man. Their natures are of equal dignity, and their virtues are equal. Do not say 'I am weak'. Weakness is of the flesh, but in the spirit there is power". "On the words of the Bible, "faciamus hominem etc." I, in Migne P.G. 44, 276.

(2) See W. Jaeger: "Humanism and Theology", 1943, p. 62.

(3) See B. Tatakis: "Topics of Christian and Byzantine Philosophy", Athens, 1952, pp. 19 ff. (Θέματα Χριστιανικῆς καὶ Βυζαντινῆς Φιλοσοφίας)

selection and teaching of these "healthy ideas" to the Christian youth could never prejudice their introduction to Christianity proper. Thus this view was gradually established in the Eastern Church. The first attempt to compromise between Christianity and Greek "logos" had been made. It was left to the Great Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, however, to establish firmly and permanently this compromise. Owing to it the realisation of what we now call "Greco-Christian" culture" became possible. It was in the spirit of this culture that the later generations of Byzantines grew up. And this practice gradually became known to other people in the West and formed the culture not only of later Greeks but also of Western people. In brief it was the positive attitude of the Fathers of the Byzantine Church that opened the way to this culture. They created a strong tradition for all Byzantines after them, with the result that throughout the Byzantine era almost without any noticeable interruption the texts of Greek literature and philosophy were studied at first hand, despite all the difficulties. By studying these texts the Byzantines also preserved them for the people who succeeded them on the hard pathway of civilisation, from the Renaissance up to our own time. Thanks to the preservation of masterpieces of antiquity, along with their spirit, the intellectual development of Europe, on the lines of Greek thought has since the Italian Renaissance become a reality.

This attempt to synthesize is seen and felt vividly in the works of the Great Greek Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The first clear picture of this attitude is found in a small treatise in a form of an "address to young men on the right use of Greek Literature", by St. Basil. (1) St. Basil's attention in this treatise is directed ex-

(1) St. Basil: *Ἐπὶ τοῖς νέοις, ὅπως ἀν' ἐξ' Ἑλληνικῶν ὠφελοῖν τε λόγων*, in Migne P.G. 31, 564-589. For English translation see in the Loeb Series: St. Basil, vol. IV, pp. 363-435. St. Basil wrote this letter to his nephews studying in pagan schools in order to show them the value found in the study of pagan lore, esp. of its content, to the understanding of the Bible. First St. Basil explains why the knowledge of Greek literature is useful to a growing Christian, to the cultivation of his soul and the achievement of his purpose in life. Then he shows with vivid examples the way that pagan lore must be studied. Finally he insists that chief attention must be paid to those passages, found in writers like Homer, Hesiod, Solon, Theogonia, Prodicus and others, in which virtue is praised, that is he recommends the selective study of Greek texts./

clusively to the great educative value and power of the healthy parts of Greek literature and not at all to the style of such works. For it only through the content of the $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ - 'external' - paideia, according to St. Basil, that the real preparation of young Christians towards the mastering of virtue (areté) would be achieved. This treatise establishes St. Basil as a great humanist. I venture to suggest that if the gap of the "Dark Ages" had not taken place in the West. St. Basil, and many other Fathers, who agreed with him on this point, would have been as highly thought of as Petrarch and the other humanists of Europe after him. (1) St. Basil's aim in his "Address" was to help all young Christian students, and not only his nephews, to become "good Christians". They are to place their "hopes upon the things which are beyond" and do everything "in preparation for the life eternal". "Accordingly", St. Basil says, "whatever helps us towards this we say that we must love and follow after with all our might... Into the life eternal the Holy Scriptures lead us, which teach us through divine words. But so long as our immaturity forbids our understanding their deep thought, we exercise our spiritual perceptions upon profane writings, which are not altogether strange and in which we perceive the truth as it were in a glass darkly. (2) ... We must needs believe that the greatest of all battles lies before us, in preparation for which we must do and suffer all things to gain power. Consequently we must be conversant with poets, with historians, with orators, indeed with all men who may further our soul's salvation, , , if we would preserve indelible the idea of true virtue, we must become first initiated in pagan love, then at length give special heed to the sacred and divine teachings... (3) Of course, we are not to accept everything

(1) contd from previous page
of Greek texts. The winning of the heavenly crown is to be attained "by holding the body under, by scorning fame and richness and by subordinating everything to virtue. Virtue," he concludes, "is the best ornament and equipment in old age".

(2) It should be noted that the humanists of the 14th and 15th centuries in the West recognised this in practice, for this treatise of St. Basil was reprinted twenty times during the first period of the Renaissance.

(2) See Paul, Cor. 13, 12. $\delta\iota'\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\kappa\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\ \alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\iota$.

(3) St. Basil: "Address to young men etc" 2, in Migne P.O. 31, 566-68.

that profane writings contain. On the contrary we should be very selective. (1)

St. Gregory of Nazianzus, on the other hand, supports the study of "profane writings" with an emphasis equal to that of his fellow-student. "I take it as admitted by men of sense, that the first of our advantages is education, and not only this our more noble form of it, which disregards rhetorical ornaments and glory and holds to salvation and beauty in the objects of our contemplation, but even that external culture which many Christians ill-judgingly abhor as treacherous and dangerous, and keeping afar from God..." And stressing, like St. Basil, the need for selection among the writings of pagan writers St. Gregory says: "and again as we know that neither fire nor food, nor... any other of the elements is of itself most useful or most harmful except according to the will of those who use it; as we have compounded healthful drugs from certain of the reptiles, so from secular literature we have received principles of inquiry and speculation, while we have rejected their idolatry, terror and pit of destruction." Then he goes on to mention another reason for the study of profane writings: "Nay, even these have aided us in our religion, by our perception of the contrast between what is worse and what is better, and by gaining strength for our doctrine from the weakness of theirs." (2) We now see what his conclusions would be: "We must not, then, dishonour education because some men are pleased to do so, but rather suppose such men to be boorish and uneducated desiring all men to be as they themselves are, in order to hide themselves in the general (i.e. people), and escape the detection of their want of culture". Consequently secular learning has its place side by side with

(1) Ibid. 3, "Now, then, altogether after the manner of bees must we use these writings, for the bees do not visit all the flowers without discrimination, nor indeed do they seek to carry away entire those upon which they light, but rather, having taken so much as is adapted to their needs, they let the rest go. So we, if wise, shall take from heathen books whatever befits us and is allied to the truth, and shall pass over the rest." And he goes on to support his proposal by saying: "And just as in cutting roses we avoid the thorns, from such writings as these we will gather everything useful, and guard against the noxious. So from the very beginning", he concludes, "we must examine each of their teachings, to harmonise it with our ultimate purpose" in Migne P.G. 31, 569; Isidore Pelusiotes also accepts St. Basil's view on this point (see Letters II 3 /to Timothy/, III 84 /to Agathangos/ in Migne P.G. 78, 457 and 78, 789-92.

(2) St. Gregory Naz.: Speech 43, "In praise of Basil", II, in Migne P.G. 36, 508-509; St. Basil also/

sacred learning; referring to his friend St. Basil, he uses his practice as an example supporting this view: "he led on by elementary instruction to his future perfection. For those who are successful in life or in letters only, while deficient in other ways seem to me to differ in nothing from one-eyed men, whose loss is great but their deformity greater, both in their own eyes and in those of others. While those who attain eminence in both sides, and are ambidextrous, both possess perfection and pass their life with the blessedness of heaven". (1) Warm supporter of profane learning was also St. Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa, a very deep thinker as well. In his "Life of Moses" he says that "there is something in the profane education which can be as a sponge to us for the procreation of virtue, and it is not to be discarded". (2) Below he calls the acquisition of profane education a 'divine commandment'. (3) Elsewhere St. Gregory of Nyssa says that by the study of quadrivium our mind is led to virtue and to the understanding of heavenly goods, (4)

Due to these great Fathers' attitude, many religious personalities and, of course, learned laymen of this and later periods were influenced in favour of Greek Literature and philosophy.

However, in order to make still clearer to the reader their beneficent influence on the later Byzantines I shall quote some opinions of persons who lived and acted after the Great Fathers' epoch. The great dogmatist St. John of Damascus, for instance, in the preface of his well

(2) continued from previous page

St. Basil also in his "Address to young men etc." 2 says: "... the comparison, by emphasising the contrasts, will be of no small service in strengthening our regard for the better one..." in Migne P.G. 31, 568.

(1) St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Speech 43 (In praise of Basil) 11-f, in Migne P.G. 36, 508 f.

(2) "Life of Moses" in Migne P.G. 44, 336 D.

(3) Ibid. 360.

(4) "De infantibus etc." in Migne P.G. 46, 181.

known work "The Fountain of Knowledge" (Πηγή Γνώσεως) announces that he puts in it the best from the Greek philosophers, because their knowledge has been given to them from God on high, (1) and refers to Gregory of Nazianzus further to justify himself for doing so. "Imitating the manner of the bee, as Gregory, the great theologian, said, I shall place alongside my own account of the truth (whatever I can) from enemies and shall reap the fruit of salvation. And I shall reject whatever is wicked and belongs to the false knowledge." (2) He goes on to say: "Since the holy apostle says 'testing everything, hold fast to the good' let us search out the words also of the pagan philosophers. Perhaps we shall find something to guide us in their work, and shall reap something helpful to the soul." (3)

The patriarch Nicephorus (9th c.) showed, according to his biographer, great zeal for "the profane and religious paedeia" studying it in the monastery founded by him. (4) John Mauropous, a great humanist, who became bishop, expressed his high estimation of Plato and Plutarch in the following epigram:

"If, my Christ, though shouldst wish to exempt
from thy threat any of the pagans,
exempt for me Plato and Plutarch;
for both are attached most closely to thy laws,
both in reason and character." (5)

Psellus, who to begin with was a pupil of Mauropous, strove to show to his friend Xiphilinus that the study of secular writers and philosophers is not opposed to his Christian faith, and therefore, that he can study them in order to acquire an all-round education. In one of his letters
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(1) St. John of Dam. "The Fountain of Knowledge", Dialectics, prooemium, in Migne P.G. 94, 524.

(2) Ibid. in Migne P.G. 94, 524.

(3) Ibid. 2, in Migne P.G. 94, 532.

(4) See K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 17, vol. I, p. 135.

(5) : " Εἴπερ τινὰς βούλοιο ἁλλοτρίων
τῆς σῆς ἀκείλῃς ἐξελέσθαι, Χριστέ μου,
Πλάτωνα καὶ Πλούταρχον ἐξέλοιο μοι.
"Ἀμφω γάρ εἰσι καὶ λόγον καὶ τὸν τρόπον
τοῖς σοῖς νόμοις ἔγγιστα προσκεφυκότες"

See text in D. Balanos: "The Byzantine Ecclesiastical Writers", p. 74.

to Xiphilinus, Psellus recommends him to follow his way of study and not be one-sided in his learning: "If there is anywhere some plain or deep valley or broken ravine or unheard-of and secret corner of the earth, thither descend and work in private, diving into all our (i.e. ecclesiastical and religious) books and secular books, and after having first practised with the modes of reasoning, so equipped approach unreasoned knowledge. For, dearest brother, all virtue is so constituted as to be accompanied with pride and extreme arrogance, and is the offspring of the ignorance which is natural to us - which my philosopher, you think, smites (i.e. criticizes) in a twofold way." (1) Psellus is also selective in his study of secular writers, since he says: "As for their opinions some I put aside at once, others, which helped me, I willingly accept, comparing them with the holy words, as was the habit of the great lights of the Church, Basil and Gregory. Plato is mine, brother, as is also Chrysippus; of course, Christ is mine, too,... since for Him I left social life to become a monk. I may belong entirely to Christ, but I will not deny, because of it, the wiser of our writers, nor their knowledge of reality, both intelligible and sensible." (2) In his "Omnifaria Doctrina" (Ἀδασκαλία Παντοδαπή) one can feel the same effort of reconciliation. (3) And yet one can see the inevitable interdependence between Christian dogmas and Greek philosophical doctrines, as the mind of the learned Byzantines conceived it.

Eustratius of Nicaea was "a man wise both in the sacred and in the profane" things, according to Anna Comnena. He was a master of Greek philosophy and wrote notes on various works by Aristotle. (4) A more interesting figure is Eustathius of Thessalonica, master of orators in the Oecumenical School at Constantinople, who was a warm adherent and defender of profane learning. He, like the other Fathers and other writers

(1) Michael Psellus: Letters, letter 175 (to Xiphilinus) in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, pp. 446-447.

(2) Ibid. pp. 449, 450.

(3) Michael Psellus: "Omnifaria Doctrina", in Migne P.G. 122, 687-784.

(4) D. Balanos: "The Byzantine Ecclesiastical Writers", p. 104; also Anna Comnena: "Alexiad", XIV, 8, , vol. II, p. 361 (Bonn).

before him, thinks it natural that "the man of the Gospel... shall go forth also into the foreign plains ... to the pasture which nourishes the soul supplied in abundance by the meadows of foreign wisdom... in order that from these wild flowers and those cultivated ones he may make the honey of what is useful to our faith...and which could help us to advance in virtue." (1) In general Eustathius is noted for his many-sided learning, as he himself says advising others to do the same in learning. (2)

Michael Choniates, whom his teacher Eustathius inspired with his own love for classical learning, writes in his funeral oration for Eustathius: "The great Archbishop has united the thrones of learning and religion, having knowledge both of the paths of rhetoric and of the spiritual life", and he imagines that the first to welcome him in heaven will be Clement and Dionysius and the like, "who will come to rejoice in a kindred spirit, in one, who like them had made Greek philosophy servant of the divine Christian wisdom." (3) Speaking elsewhere about himself in the preface of his writings he states that he is a lover both of the Christian and of the secular wisdom: "The man who wrote this book was learned and a lover of both kinds of wisdom, I mean our own and the external, as anyone can perceive from the writings themselves." (4) In his writings one can see quite easily with what admirable facility he makes use not only of the Bible but also of Homer and other ancient writers.

Nicophorus Blennydes, to mention one more person here, was a master both of the profane and of religious learning. To the neglect of the study of the former he attributed to a great extent the rudeness of

(1) Eust. Thess. Speeches, Speech III On the Lent, 15, in Migne P.G. 135, 645.C.

(2) H. Choniates: "Oratio to Eustathius", 50, in Migne P.G. 140, 357-60. The translation is from Hussey's book: "Church and Learning in the B.E.", p. 106.

(3) "To tell you the truth, I have not become dried up as to wisdom, nor like the majority who are enthusiastic until they have to speak, but universally adept in all matters". Quoted from Ph. Koukoules: "Eustathius of Thessalonica 'The Folk-lore'", vol. I, p. 14, Athens, 1950.

(4) H. Choniates in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc." "Pre-theory in the present book", 1, vol. I, p. 3.

manners of his contemporaries. (1) George Acropolites, his pupil, praised Blennydes for his comprehensive philosophical knowledge (2) and so does Nicophorus Gregoras. He was "a man distinguished by many virtues and practised in much wisdom, both that which the sons of the Greeks praise and that which the champions and orators of our Church have set before us for our advantage." (3)

It would be possible to quote an infinitum passages showing the same ideas and attitude as those shown in the passages already quoted. Let us not remain, however, with the impression that there were not Byzantines opposed to these ideas about secular learning and Greek wisdom. Since the appearance and propagation of Christianity we have men believing that profane learning is in nowise useful or profitable to the young Christian, since the Bible alone contains all that we ought to know and do in actual life in order to be a "good Christian". We all know Tertulian's doubt whether there is any relation between Athens and Jerusalem, between Plato's Academy and the Christian Church, a doubt that persisted in the minds of many Byzantines as well. We also know the views of St. John Chrysostom, who was in favour of Biblical study, though he did not exclude completely profane learning from one's studies. (4) Even the great humanists St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus never recommended the exclusive devotion to profane learning, and sometimes they are against pagan writers. It was, of course, only natural for the class of monks to be the strongest and most permanent opponents of profane learning, since they had always been strictly stuck to the Bible and most conservative. (5) However, considering the matter from all sides and in all its extent we observe with pleasure that in Byzantium it was generally realised that

(1) H. Blennydes: "Epistola Universalior ad multos", in Migne P.G. 142, 605 B ("In worldly wisdom we are unlearned and therefore hateful and abominable")

(2) G. Acropolites: "Annals", 32,53, in Migne P.G. 140, 1056-57, 1121.

(3) Gregoras II, 7, vol. I, p.46, 11 ff (Bonn).

(4) St. J. Chrys., On Eph., Speech XXI, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 152.

(5) See p. 96-7.

the profane learning not only did not prevent initiation in the spirit of Christianity, but even contributed highly to the chief aim of Byzantine education, viz the formation of "good Christians." In the adoption of this attitude, it must be said once more here, the ideological content of Greek *paideia* played a great part. The belief of ancient Greeks in the superiority of "logos" over matter, the idealistic view of life which the best of the Greek thinkers held, the respect they had for the individual - the free citizen, of course - and his free will, their ethics in general which in many points come close to Christian ethics as one sees in Socrates' or Plato's and Aristotle's ideas about all these matters together, along with their respects to God, as they conceived him, made it possible for the Byzantines to consider the wisdom and the whole intellectual heritage of Ancient Greeks as familiar and relevant to Christianity, as for example John Mauropous (see above p. 21) said of Plato and Plutarch, and also to be proud of its possession. The idea expressed by Clement of Alexandria, of Justin the martyr, that whatever good there is in the pre-Christian thought of the Greeks is given to them by God, "from high", and that, therefore, the great thinkers Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and other less distinguished writers, perhaps, should be considered as Christians; this idea never ceased to be prevalent among the Byzantines, and always made them believe that in fact Greek wisdom was God's gift to the Greeks. For this reason the study of it becomes the most successful, necessary and profitable "pro-*paideia* to Christianity". In addition, the bitter struggle with the Emperor Julian of his erstwhile fellow-pupils, the Church Fathers St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus, because he had passed a law forbidding Christian teachers to teach the Greek writers and poets, on the grounds that these were pagans, shows clearly the conviction of the Byzantine Christians that the learning and the wisdom inherited by them from the Greeks was worth fighting for. So it is not surprising that Greek letters and learning always had their place in the curricula designed by the Byzantine educators for the intellectual and moral development of their compatriots.

2. IDEAS OF THE BYZANTINES

ON THE VALUE, THE NECESSITY AND THE POWER OF EDUCATION

Byzantines in general believed in the value of education. To make this clear let us refer to the opinions expressed by some of them. Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, says that "one must not dishonour education, as it is the foremost of the fine things which are found in the best men." (1) St. Gregory of Nazianzus believes that education is "the first of the good things we enjoy". (2) St. John Chrysostom claims that "there is no other art greater than this. For what is equal to regulating the soul and moulding a young man's mind?" (3) Isidore Pelusiotes sees the value of education in that it "perfects the acute man, and makes the slow-witted man better than he otherwise would be," (4) thus reminding us of Isocrates' same views. Later, Photius, the patriarch, sketches the encomium of education in an advisory letter to a state official, Michael, the Chief of the Guards. In this letter he advises Michael to educate his children because "the acquisition of paideia becomes the best staff of the aged and it brings the man in the flower of youth painlessly into a state of virtue." (5) A contemporary of Photius, the Emperor Basil I, in a letter to his son Leo says that "education is an aid in life and a most important thing not only for kings but for laymen as well. For it very greatly helps those who possess it both in the body and in the soul" As for rulers "it is both an adornment to the kingship and it renders the rulers memorable for ever." (6) In his wish to stress the importance of education he concludes thus: "For just as when the sun is not present over the earth, all things are dark and indistinguishable,

(1) Eusebius of Caesarea: "Preparatio Evangelica" XII, 18, in Migne P.G. 21, 981.

(2) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 43 (In praise of Basil) 11, in Migne P.G. 36, 508.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: "On Matthew" 59,7, in Migne P.G. 58, 584.

(4) Is. Pelus., Letters, V, 334 (to Agathodacmon) in Migne P.G. 78, 1529.

(5) Photius' Letters, edited by John N. Balottas: Part II, letter 126, p. 447.

(6) Basil I, "to Leo 'On education'", in Migne P.G. 107, c. XXI.

so when education is not present in the soul, all things are confused and out of order. Grasp, therefore, the education which is full of virtue; for virtue alone among all possessions is deathless." (1) Theodore Prodromus puts in his father's mouth the following words showing how ordinary persons thought of the value of education: "From the time I was a very small boy my old father used to say to me: 'My son, you learn your letters as well as you can. Look at that man over there, my child; He used to go on foot, but now he has a horse with a double breastplate, and goes about on a mule. While he was studying he had no shoes, and now you see him wearing fashionable pointed boots....'" (2) In another poem labelled "spaneas" (Σπανέας) the good results of education - moral, general and technical - are enumerated. (3) In the above and other texts we see parents or guardians exhorting their own or their relatives' children to learn, because thus they become cultivated, secure a good name and a comfortable life. As for the latter, we know that the State and the Church in general - exceptions do always exist - showed a preference for learned men whenever they appointed them to the various posts (4)

The value and the importance of education is also shown by life itself. Education serves social purposes as well. Every man, as a social being, has not only to look after himself or merely to live with other human beings, but also to co-operate with them and become useful to the society in which he lives. Therefore, every individual has to receive help and education before entering society as a full member, able to discharge his duties as such. If he is left without proper guidance and

(1) Ibid.

(2) Theodore Prodromus: To Manuel Comnenus, in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. I, p. 101. We must note in passing that Theodore is against education here because it did not secure him a comfortable life as his father assured him.

(3) See "Spaneas", lines 124-228, 147-151, 168-177 and 253-260 etc.

(4) H. Psellus "Encomia": "Encomium to paedotria", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 141; see also H. Psellus: "In praise of Xiphilinus" in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, pp. 429-434.

has as companions cunning or evil persons he may become a bad member of the society, in which case he must be punished by its laws. (1) The patriarch Germanus II (13th c.) stresses the social function of education by saying that the nurslings of education and those who embrace it to the best of their ability are the best in the world, whereas those who do not do this are ferocious and unsociable. (2) All these ideas point to the fact that education of childhood and youth is the first duty of every adult person and of the community, and also that education is possible.

In fact Byzantines believed that education is possible. It can mould the mind and develop and ennoble human beings, though in some cases human beings, despite all attempts to educate them, do not become good and virtuous. (3) Education is possible for many reasons, Byzantines would say. First, because every individual is $\tau\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \delta\acute{\nu}$ "(4) - i.e. a being to be converted - and liable to the good change (5), under good conditions of development, of course. As regards childhood especially education is possible not only for the plasticity of the child's soul but also for its inexperience (6) and its innate tendency to imitate what it sees taking place around it. They believe that the younger the child the greater and more effective the outside influence would be upon it. "For that which is soft is in every way flexible," St. John Chrysostom says, "being not as yet compacted, and therefore is easily drawn whichever way one pleases." (7) We hear the echo of these words in Loche's

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- (1) St. J. Chrys.: Speech 27, "On the Education of Children" in Migne P.G. 63, 763-765.
 - (2) Germanus II, in D. Balanos: "The Byzantine Ecclesiastical Writers" p. 125. Theodore Lascaris: "De naturali Communionem" V, in Migne P.G. 140, 1395 A.
 - (3) M. Psellus: "Apologetic Speeches", Speech 4, in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 167f; Is. Polus., Letters, II, 147 (to Eutonius) in Migne P.G. 78, 604.
 - (4) M. Psellus: Letters, Letter 207, in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 506.
 - (5) Theodore of Studium: Speech XIII, 7 "Catechesis funebris in matrem suam" in Migne P.G. 99, 892.
 - (6) M. Choniates in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." in his letter "To those pretending not to be fond of display", vol. I, pp. 16-17.
 - (7) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 21.

essay, (1) centuries later. If, whilst he is hey young", St. John Chrysostom says elsewhere, "thou imprint good principles in him, nobody shall ever be able to efface them when he becomes more firm, being then as the wax which has received the impression." (2) St. Basil also holds to the same idea. "While the soul is still malleable and tender", he writes, "...it must be led from the beginning towards every good practice ." (3).

Byzantines had other reasons, too, for thinking that education was possible. "In our first age", St. Basil says, "we human beings are neither bad nor good - for this age is not capable of either condition; but when reason has been established, then what has been appointed for us takes place." (4). Elsewhere St. Basil, trying to explain our ambivalent behaviour in life, says that this happens for our nature has an equal tendency in either direction, and often it inclines towards the wicked and often again towards the good, as though on a balance, so that sometimes the soul is weighted down towards the passions, and sometimes again is drawn up by reason to the better way. (5) Similar views are expressed by other writers and especially by Michael Psellus. (6)

(1) "I imagine the minds of children as easily turned this or that way as water itself." In "Some Thoughts Concerning Education", 2, Pitt Press Series, 1902, p. 2.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 20.

(3) St. Basil: "The Longer Rules" XV, 4, in Migne P.G. 31, 956; see also Is. Pelus. op. Antonius Melissa I, 50, in Migne P.G. 136, 933, and Germanus II, who advises a father "while the child's soul has nothing of wickedness written upon it, take care to inscribe thereon in time the commands of God. For if you permit the deviser of wickedness to brand on it first the imprint of evil deeds, you will have hard work later on trying to erase them", in Lagopatin S.N. "Germanus II etc.", III, Speech 6, p. 257.

(4) St. Basil, On Psalm 1, 5, in Migne P.G. 29, 221.

(5) St. Basil, On Isaiah 202, in Migne P.G. 30, 465.

(6) M. Psellus, "Letters", 8, in K. Sathas B.O.N. vol. V, p. 236.

3. FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATION

The evidence so far examined shows the Byzantines rather optimistic in regard to the possibility and the power of education. However, when they refer to the task of leading a child into a virtuous way of life they do accept that this is not at all a simple or easy task. On the contrary, they insist that it needs time and continuous effort (1) on the part of the educator and the educant as well. They also accept that there are many factors which set up limits to or facilitate the task of education. These factors are either internal or external such as "nature" and heredity, God's grace, our good will, the environment, natural and human, and so on.

To begin with "nature" - φύσις - plays an important role in education. Even St. John Chrysostom suggests that our innate abilities set limits to our achievements in actual life. (2) However, other writers are much more emphatic. Isidore Pelusiotes, for instance, says that education helps individuals to improve themselves, but this improvement depends on the innate ability of each individual. (3) Nemesius of Emesa quoting the stoic Cleanthis agrees with him that we resemble our parents not only in our physical structure but also in soul, in passions, in manners and in dispositions. (4) The same opinion is expressed by Photius, the patriarch, who says that "a man who is not clever by nature cannot become so". (5) Michael Psellus also stresses the power of innate abilities when he writes that the wax of the soul is more impressionable in

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- (1) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc.", 22-27.
 - (2) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid., 89: He advises the parent "to promote him - the son - to offices in the commonwealth, such as he has abilities to undertake. " In 22 he also speaks of "natural defects", which the parents must try to change into merits as much as they can.
 - (3) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 334 (To Agathodaemon) quoted above p. 26.
 - (4) Nemesius of Emesa: "On the nature of man", 2, in Migne P.G. 40, 545.
 - (5) Photius: "Letters", Book I, 8, 33 (to Michael, prince of Bulgaria), in Migne P.G. 10 2, 665.

some than in other wise men. (1) At any rate a talented person cannot go far in life without education. "Our nature, however gifted it may be, is not sufficient by itself to acquire learning without education" Michael Psellus says. (2) As to which of them is more necessary the opinions of Byzantines are interesting. Photius, comparing "nature" (i.e. innate ability) and "art" (i.e. education), accepts Aristotle's view that the former should not be more honoured than the latter. (3) In another letter Photius says that: "Study and experience of things, by making knowledge easy to use, have in many cases shown the trained person more acute in practice than those who had such power by nature." (4) Nicephorus Blemmydes also believes that the natural gifts and the study of the best things contribute to a person's own perfection and lead him to honest deeds. (5)

Side by side with the natural endowments of the faithful and education-loving human being comes God's grace, through holy Ghost, of course, to help him to become virtuous. (6) The same belief is expressed by the biographer of Arethas of Caesarea, (7) and by St. John of Damascus. The latter, commenting upon Isocrates' saying that "if you are fond of learning you become erudite" (8) adds that "everything is achieved by diligence

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- (1) M. Psellus: "Apologetic Speeches", Speech V, in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 187-189.
- (2) M. Psellus, Greek Codex No 1182, 84 (Paris Library) in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 57.
- (3) Photius: "Myriobiblos", 247, in Migne P.G. 103, 1500.
- (4) Photius: "Letters", Book I, 8, 33, (to Michael of Bulgaria), in Migne P.G. 102, 665.
- (5) Nicephorus Blemmydes: "Epitome of Logic", Prooemium, ε', in Migne P.G. 142, 689.
- (6) M. Choniates in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.": Speech to the Patriarch Michael, 10, vol. I, p. 75 (and 17 Ibid., p. 77)
- (7) Biographer of Arethas of Caesarea, in S. Kouyean: "Arethas of Caesarea etc." I, p. 26.
- (8) Isocrates; "Demonicos", 18.

and taking of pains; and above all and after all by the grace of God the Provider." (1)

In some of the passages quoted we see that according to the Byzantines, in creating perfection in a man, besides the 'nature' and 'education' given to him by others, personal 'study', 'exercise' - μελέτη - plays a great part. There might be cases, St. Gregory of Nazianzus tells us, in which it would be difficult to discern how much is due to natural ability and how much to 'study'. This was the case with his friend, St. Basil, at least, as he himself says. (2) And St. John of Damascus' biographer says of him, and of John's brother Kosmas, that "by quickness of nature and intensity of zeal they were able in a short time to collect all the most important lessons." (3) Nicephorus Blemmydes is more optimistic, however, about the effectiveness of 'study' or 'exercise', for he affirms that "it improves and augments everything", and agrees with Perianther that "every art and action is improved and well established through study and diligence." (4)

No doubt such ideas were based on the ancient Greek writers whom the Byzantine educators used to study; but these ideas were also the outcome of their own personal observation of themselves and others, as the reader can easily see throughout this work.

(1) St. John of Dam.: "Fountain of Knowledge", Dialectics: I, 2, in Migne P.G. 94, 532; see also St. John of Dam.: "Sacred Parallels" Σ', 8, in Migne P.G. 96, 337.

(2) St. Greg. Naz., Speech 43 (In praise of Basil) 23: "The two great sources of power in the arts and sciences, ability and appreciation, were in him equally combined. For because of the pains he took he had little need of natural quickness, and his natural quickness made it unnecessary for him to take pains; and such was the co-operation and unity of both that it was hard to see for which of the two he was more remarkable.", in Migne P.G. 36, 525-28. The translation is quoted from G. Hodgson: Primitive Christian Education, pp. 67-68.

(3) Life of St. John of Dam., 11, in Migne P.G. 94, 445.

(4) Nic. Blemmydes: "What a King should be like" 8, in Migne P.G. 142, 636 and below *ibid.* 637.

At the same time the Byzantines rightly estimated the role of "environment" in education, especially of human environment. Here their own observations along with the views of the ancient Greek writers resulted in the opinions expressed below. They believed in the great influence which adults have on children because of their authority and the child's tendency to imitate. Since an adult's behaviour becomes an example for the child to imitate it is necessary for the adult's words, actions and deeds to be morally blameless. If this happens, they say, the child has a good chance of developing into a moral human being. Otherwise the result will be exactly the opposite. For this reason the Byzantine educators continuously recommend and demand of parents that they take good care of their child's environment. "Let the improper" (i.e. children), St. John Chrysostom says, "hear no untoward word, neither from servants nor from the paedagogue nor from the nurses. But as plants are most in need of diligence when they are tender so is the case with children; so let us provide them with good nurses, so that the foundation is good from the very beginning and no bad thing enters them from the first moment." (1) The same holds true for all the other impressions acquired via the various senses. (2) In another place St. John recommends that young men should go with others of the same age who are of good character and have good habits in order to imitate their examples. (3) Isidore Pelusiotes also turns our attention to the same point, the importance of associates in the formation of good - or bad - character, (4) as well as of actors, who usually have a bad influence on their audience (5) Michael Choniates echoing Plato (6) and Paul (7) who uses Menander's

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 37.

(2) Ibid. 27.

(3) Ibid. 77.

(4) Is. Pelus.: "Letters", V, 236 (to James the Reader) in Migne P.G. 78, 1476; II, 167 (to Theophilus) in Migne P.G. 78, 620; see also St. John of Dam: "Sacred Parallels", Z', 16, in Migne P.G. 96, 349 f, and Z', 17, Ibid. p. 352 f.

(5) Is. Pelus.: "Letters", V, 184 (to Harpocras), in Migne P.G. 78, 1437; III, 336 (to Heron), in Migne P.G. 78, 997.

(6) Plato: Rep. VIII, 550 B.

(7) Paul: On Cor. I, 15, 33.

saying that "evil communications corrupt good manners", says that this happens much more frequently and intensively in the case of our intimate companions; because these discourses - ὁ μὲν λείπει - "creep into our minds from our companions and deceive us by an appearance of good intentions"(1)

Among those familiar with us are counted not only our parents and other relatives and friends, but also our servants and paedagogues, and, of course, our teachers. (2) Therefore, "if your servants are wise", St. John Chrysostom says, "let us bring them as examples to your son and he will understand how absurd it is for him - who is free - to lead an unbridled life, while on the contrary the servant lives in such wisdom"(3). The need for a 'pure' and 'selective' environment for the growing child was pointed out centuries before by Plato and was greatly stressed centuries later by Locke, Frober and other educators after them. Education does not have to develop every tendency in the growing human being, the Byzantines would say; it has rather to help the development of those tendencies only which put down good roots and give promise of being good plants and bearing fine fruits. (4) It is pleasant to record that the later Byzantines followed these ideas when bringing up their own children. Michael Psellus, for example, informs us that his daughter "was brought up by a modest mother who provided for her decently in every respect and did not leave her tender nature to be influenced by the worst." (5) The patriarch Germanus II also stresses the need for the development of the child's soul from its infancy and recommends the parents to imitate in their educative task the best of the horticulturists, who support the tender plants till they become established. (6)

(1) H. Choniates, Letter 142, 9 (to Bardanes), in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc.", vol. II, p. 287.

(2) To the teacher's personality we devote a whole chapter below pp. so that there is no need to speak of it here, too.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 79.

(4) Ibid. 22.

(5) H. Psellus: "Encomium to his daughter", in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 64.

(6) Germanus II, in Lagopatis S.H.: "Germanus II etc.", III, Speech 6, pp. 257-58.

In brief we conclude that the Byzantines were of the opinion that education is possible and has a great power to form the mind of the growing human being, and that the task of education is facilitated or made difficult by other factors such as heredity - nature of the educant- and environment in general. The importance for good education they attached to the individual's own good will - *προαίρεσις* -, diligence and study is especially noteworthy. The factor of heredity is out of our reach according to Byzantine educators, - agreeing here with Aristotle - so that what we must and can regulate are the environment along with the growing human being's good will, since "our soul is neither good nor bad by nature, but it may take the one or the other way according to our good will," (1) as St. John Chrysostom says. Of course, *προαίρεσις* - an act of deliberate choice, or of good will - is influenced by education. It is just this influence which shows the power of education in moulding a human being's soul, in making a person 'evil or good' as St. John says. The Byzantines well knew this and tried to explore this topic in all its extent. The following chapters are intended to show how they faced these problems from a theoretical and practical point of view.

4. THE TEACHER'S PERSONALITY

In speaking of the environmental factors we have to examine in some detail what the Byzantines thought about the teacher and his influence upon the growing child - viz. what sort of a person the teacher (*διδάσκαλος*) ought to be. In a broad sense the honourable name of *διδάσκαλος* was used for anyone who could in some way or another exert any kind of influence on others. (2) Many Byzantines encouraged such a notion, some of them being more demanding, considering it an every learned man's

(1) St. J. Chrys. op. Antonius Melissa, II, 70, in Migne P.G. 136, 1168; see also in his speech "On the education of Children", where he says that "by will we become evil and good", in Migne P.G. 63, 767.

duty to educate his fellows. Thus Caecarius, St. Gregory of Nazianzus's brother, "having assembled all excellence and learning, was sent to his own town so as to give to others as share of the good influences of his own education." (1) Photius, the patriarch, addressing a letter to a learned leader says "for this reason it is necessary not only to think and believe this way yourself, but also to guide into the same spirit of truth all those placed under your leadership, and to organise them in the same faith; you must think of nothing as being more honourable than this zeal and diligence." (2) St. John Chrysostom concludes one of his sermons as follows: "And now it is time that you should be teachers and guides of others; that friends should undertake to instruct and lead along their neighbours; servants their fellow-servants; and youths those of their own age." (3) Elsewhere he counts among teachers even enemies: "And frequently, too, we gain no less from enemies than friends... So many teachers has He set over us, that the discovery of what is profitable and the right practice of it, might be easy to us." (4) Sometimes our friends hesitate to point out to us our own faults or defects; our enemies, however, though they are not moved by good will, never fail to make us aware of our mistakes and defects. Even such a censure as this is useful to us, as Eustathius of Thessalonica says. (5) But, of course, Eustathius says, this control cannot be put on the same level with that of a friend or a teacher, because the enemy "does not intend to profit us; whereas a friendly person does it because he is interested in our good." (6)

In addition to those who recommend or urge the able ones to educate others we have also those Byzantines who themselves accepted this task as a high duty. St. John of Damascus, quoting Eusebius of Caesarea, says

(1) St. Greg. Naz. VII (In Praise of his brother Caecarius) 8, in Migne P.G. 35, 764.

(2) Photius: Letters, I, 8, 21, in Migne P.G. 102, 656 C.

(3) See in Library of Fathers, vol. 9, p. 277.

(4) Ibid., p. 227.

(5) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc." 99, in Migne P.G. 136, 488.

(6) Ibid., 102-3, in Migne P.G. 136, 492.

that "he, who has received grace, ought to pass it on to those who wish to learn ... not only to the just but to the sinners, too." (1) Michael Choniatos, on the other hand, thus justifies the writing of some essays to his brother Nicetas: "Because I know that you are going to possess them not only for yourself but also to give them to others I have to write these essays." (2) Similar opinions are expressed by the patriarch Germanus II (3) and by St. John of Damascus' teacher talking to John's father. (4) The practice of many learned Byzantines, such as Photius, Arethas, Michael Psellus, or Planudes and others, is an example illustrative of what is recommended by all Byzantine educators. They still are our teachers after all, instructing us through their written works. (5)

But 'nature' as well as 'books' could also lay claim to the name of 'teacher'. Very characteristic here is what Photius wrote in a letter to the Emperor while in exile: "Why were the books taken away from us? For if we are doing wrong in any way, we should be given more books, yes, and teachers too, so that by reading we can be more profited and by being proved wrong we can be corrected." (6) K. Krumbacher maintains that "The chief teachers of the Byzantines were the ancients", meaning that they were taught many things by studying the writings of ancient writers in general. (7)

Eusebius ap

(1) St. John of Dam.: "Sacred Parallels" All, in Migne P.G. 95, 1376.

(2) M. Choniatos in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", Letters, I, 4 (to his brother Nicetas), vol. II, p. 2.

(3) See in Lagopatis S.H.: "Germanus II etc." III, speech 3, p. 226; III, speech 4, p. 235.

(4) Life of St. John of Dam., 9, in Migne P.G. 94, 444.

(5) See in S. Kouyouss: Arethas of Caesarea, II, p. 27; St. Basil: Letters III, 294 (to Festus and Magnus) in Migne P.G. 32, 1038; Eust. Thess. also praises the value of the written word in our instruction. See in his speech "On the duty etc.", 18, in Migne P.G. 136, 313 C.

(6) Photius: Letters, I, 16 (to the Emperor Basil), in Migne P.G. 102, 765-68.

(7) K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 189, vol. II, pp. 97-98.

However, in its narrower sense the name of the 'teacher' - διδάσκαλος - or 'paedagogue' (1) was given to those persons to whom the important task of education - instruction and guiding - of children was entrusted. Such persons were the parents and the professional teachers, for they had the main responsibility for teaching the youth and "bring them into order", as St. John Chrysostom said. (2) We shall have frequent opportunity to speak later about the role of parents in bringing up of children. Here we shall examine the views of Byzantine educators only about the professional teacher and his task. St. John gives to the teacher the greatest responsibility for an all-round and effective education of growing children. Alluding to the fact that many men became famous because of their good teachers, St. John says that "for this reason we must seek after and long for our teachers rather than our fathers, for the latter help us to live, but the former help us to live well." (3) Elsewhere he states that "even the wisest of men need an adviser just because they are human beings." (4)

The problem of the selection of suitable teachers greatly occupied the Byzantine educators. Their first rule was that the teacher's selection was never to be left either to the pupil or the chance, "for it is dangerous and disastrous for pupils to choose a guide according to their own wish; for such guides lead them among crags, and pits, and places of destruction." (5) We cannot trust the pupils on this matter because of their inexperience, of their inclination to passion and of their inability to bridle their desires, as St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom (6) say. Isidore Pelusiotes, touching upon this topic, says that children

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- (1) The term 'paedagogue' in Byzantium apart from the narrow sense it had in ancient Greece also meant the 'teacher' in many cases: it meant especially the person who led and cultivated the child's and youth's soul and character towards moral perfection. The teacher on the other hand had to be not only just an instructor of knowledge, but also a paedagogue in the new sense. Throughout this work the terms 'paedagogue' and 'teacher' are used synonymously.
- (2) See in Library of Fathers, vol. 9, p. 227.
- (3) St. J. Chrys.: "On the education of children", in Migne P.G. 63, 768.
- (4) St. J. Chrys. op. Antonius Melissa I, 10, in Migne 136, 800.
- (5) John Of Climax: "Ladder of Paradise", grad. IV, 98, in Migne P.G. 88, 761.
- (6) St. Basil op. Antonius Melissa II, 20, in Migne P.G. 136, 1061; St. J. Chrys., *ibid.*

must never be left free "to do what they like for erring youth does not understand." (1) The father, then not the child had the responsibility of finding the teacher. He has to find the best teacher for his son and not the first one who knocks at his door. "To take a blind man as a guide and a foolish person as an adviser is one and the same thing." (2) The worst result in this case is the harm which the foolish or corrupted guide could cause to the growing child's mind. (3)

The teacher himself also has to be aware of his role and of his responsibility towards the child, his parents, society and God. Therefore, the teacher's first task is always to try to improve himself, to become perfect. "Do not let us be seen to be bad painters of this marvellous virtue... trying to heal others when we ourselves are loaded with blemishes." (4)

The contents of the above passages bring us to the question of the good teacher's qualifications. We have already noted in the chapter concerning the aims of education of Byzantines that the formation of moral characters - or better of 'good Christians' - was their chief concern. It is obvious, then, that such an education could be achieved only by those persons who were themselves 'good Christians' in word and deed. St. John Chrysostom advising a father to provide good teachers for his son who could help him to develop an integrated moral personality says to him that his son will hear arguments about philosophy more easily from him who verifies them with deeds. (5) It is not enough, then, for a teacher to be master of his subject in theory only. "There is nothing colder than a teacher who philosophises in words only; this is not a characteristic of a teacher but of an actor." (6) The Byzantine educators

(1) Is. Polus.: Letters, I, 316 (to Callimachus) in Migne P.G. 78, 365.

(2) St. Greg. Naz. op. Antonius Melissa, I, 9, in Migne P.G. 136, 800.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: On Col. IX, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 363.

(4) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech II, 13, in Migne P.G. 35, 421-24; M. Psellus commenting upon this statement of St. Gregory, adds that "bad painter of this marvellous virtue is he who does not depict it in his soul." Greek Codex No 1182 (Paris Library), in K. Sathas, vol. V, p.

(5) St. J. Chrys.: "Address to a faithless father" in Migne P.G. 47, 345.

(6) Anonymous op. Antonius Melissa II, 4, in Migne P.G. 136, 1028.

were very emphatic on this point; (1) first because not all of the teachers were good, and second because of the great influence which the teacher's example, they believed, had upon the growing human beings, his disciples. St. Dorotheos speaking to those in charge of the instruction of others says: "If you are the teacher of brothers, take the task seriously... teaching them what they have to do by deed and by word, but mostly by deed, since examples are more impressive." (2) Equally emphatic is St. Gregory of Nazianzus when he says "either do not teach or teach by your own example." (3) And St. Basil exhorts his young nephews "to profit from good examples." Children are prone to imitate the example of others; and if this happens again and again a habit is formed; thus children become conditioned in this or that way.

The teacher, therefore, should be the possessor and good example of all those virtues which were thought of as basic for every Christian, according to Byzantine educators; such virtues were: on the one hand, prudence, bravery, wisdom and justice - viz. the four cardinal virtues of Greeks -, and on the other, the purely Christian virtues of piety, charity, love and hope to God. I shall speak briefly only of love, for infinite love for his pupils was thought to be one of the priceless merits of a good teacher. "There is nothing so conducive to learning as to love and to be loved", (4) St. John Chrysostom says. Eustathius of Thessalonica praising highly the teacher's love towards his pupils says: "O love, if the teacher does not offer you he is worthy of hatred." (5) Elsewhere he stresses the contribution it makes to the creation of that pleasant atmosphere and conduct between educators and pupils which becomes a positive factor of good in the latter's education. (6) All

(1) See Germanus II's views in Lagopatis S.N.: "Germanus II etc.", 8 III, 8, p. 267.

(2) St. Dorotheos: "Helpful Teachings", 17, 1, in Migne P.G. 88, 1800.

(3) St. Greg. Naz. ap. Ph. Koukoules: "The Three Great Fathers as Educators", p. 12.

(4) St. J. Chrys.: "On Timothy 1, VI, 1, in Migne P.G. 62, 529-30.

(5) Eust. Thess.: "Letter to Thessalonians" 2, in Migne P.G. 135, 1033 D.

(6) Eust. Thess.: Ibid. 3, "Love, which makes private teachers approachable to those desirous of learning", in Migne P.G. 135, 1036 A-B.

Byzantine educators, generally speaking, demand that the teacher should love his pupils, in which case he will be usually patient, tolerant and ready to forgive them, when their immaturity leads them astray; St. Basil, for instance, advises the abbots to put in charge of the novices under instruction "one who is advanced in age, with more knowledge than the other monks, who is of proved forbearance." (1) Eustathius censuring strictness and the habit of imposing punishments on pupils considers as foolishness the teacher's effort to educate the child's naive soul by such means. (2) St. John Chrysostom enumerates for us the good results which a patient teacher produces. "He that teaches must be especially careful to do it with meekness. For a soul that wishes to learn cannot gain any useful instruction from harshness and contention... He who would gain any useful knowledge ought above all things to be well disposed towards his teacher.... And no one can be well disposed towards him who is violent and overbearing." (3) Other Byzantines also speak of the virtue of forbearance; among these we mention Isidore Pelusiotes (4) and the patriarch Germanus II. (5)

The loving teacher also shows a sincere interest in his pupils regardless of their merits or vices. (6) Such a teacher would still win his pupils' love and approval, even in cases when he had to apply punishment to them, for they would realise that he was acting for their own good. (7) Only under certain conditions has punishment a place in schools, as a method of education. It is love that forgives everything, it is love, too, that guides the really good teacher "to bring youth into order" by all means available, used in the proper way and on the proper occasion. Of course, in practice all these are not easy to achieve.

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- (1) St. Basil: "The Longer Rules" XV, 2, in Migne P.O. 31, 953.
 - (2) Eust. Thess.: Speeches, Speech IV On the Lent, 36, in Migne P.O. 135, 705 D.
 - (3) St. J. Chrys.: In the Library of Fathers, vol. 12, p. 220.
 - (4) Is. Pelus.: Letters, I, 142 (to Heron), in Migne P.O. 78, 277.
 - (5) Germanus II, See in Lagopatis S.N. "Germanus II etc.", III, Speech 7 "teachers should be tolerant when their students dare to calumniate them.", p. 264.
 - (6) Antiochus Monachus: Speech 109, in Migne P.O. 89, 1760. A.
 - (7) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory of his injuries" 28, 102, in Migne P.O. 136, 428 A, 492. B-C.

But the good teacher will never give up. Because he counts as his main reward the pupil's progress in knowledge and virtue. Michael Choniates assures us of this by saying to his audience: "In teaching you I suffer like a woman whose nipples are bruised from continually giving suck. For all discourse is laborious; but on the other hand I am pleased with the number of students taught by me, and I pray that I may see you become perfect men..." (1) Eustathius of Thessalonica, on the other hand, counts this satisfaction and joy as a quality of the good teacher. (2)

Beyond all these things the teacher ought to feel that he is not engaged on a trade or business but on a "holy" task, that he is a missionary on earth. The teacher, Michael Choniates says - and with his all Byzantine educators agree -, must never have as his aim money. (3)

5. THE PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION OF THE TEACHER

The merits mentioned were necessary to equip the 'educator' as a moral personality. But moral qualities alone did not suffice him who was going to be a good instructor. He should be perfect on the professional side as well. The first professional requirement was that he had to be a learned man, possessing sound general knowledge and being at the same time expert in his own special field or subject. He also had to be a master of the art of teaching, in order to be able to impart effectively his knowledge to his pupils. Finally, he should have a sound knowledge of the psychology of the growing human being so as to be able to perform his teaching duties with the best possible results. Special institutions for the training of teachers did not exist in Byzantium. Those interested

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- (1) M. Choniates: "On the dual synthesis of man", 19, in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. I, p. 194.
- (2) Eust. Thess.: Speech III, "On the Lent", 46, "A teacher free from envy will rejoice at the progress of the pupils he teaches", in Higne P.O. 135, 673 A.
- (3) M. Choniates: "In praise of Nicetas, bishop of Chonae", 46-7, "I for my part...having set before me only the traveller's good hope, with which I come hither so well-girt as to carry not even a copper coin in my belt, nor to sew to it a purse into which as chance has it, to put a teacher's wage. For I preach the Gospel without pay, thinking your salvation a thing of great gain." in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." vol. I p. 38; see also Germanus II in Lagopatis S.H., "Germanus II etc." III, 11, pp. 289-291, 295.

in the art of teaching could seek information and knowledge in the works of Byzantine writers of previous ages and of the ancient writers -- mostly in the latter, perhaps -- and also in the schools they were attending, as well as from their old teachers or well known educators of their day. In these schools the 'future' teacher along with the knowledge he was receiving from his master, also required the technique of instruction -- the principles and methods of teaching.

Why a deep and thorough mastery of the subject was an essential requirement is seen in St. John Chrysostom's words: "Teachers should speak with certainty...this is the teacher's part, not to waver in any thing that he says, since if he who is to be a guide to the rest requires another person who shall be able to establish him with certainty, he would be rightly ranked not among teachers but among pupils." (1) The same idea is put forward by St. Gregory of Nazianzus when he says: "To attempt to educate others before they are educated themselves...seems to me to be the action of foolish or rash persons; foolish if they do not perceive their own ignorance, and rash if perceiving it they dare to attempt the task." (2) Michael Choniates considers it important for a teacher first to be aware of his ignorance (3) and then to put much effort into his own education. The demand for a completely scientific preparation we also observe in some ironic poems, such as the poems by Theodore Prodromus or in some of his letters, for instance. In a letter addressed to someone who called himself 'grammarian' -- i.e. teacher of Grammar -- he castigates him as one wholly ignorant and uninitiated in grammar as well as in the writers, whose texts he wanted to teach. Then he goes on to advise him to take the slate in his own hands to teach himself the A B C before he ventures to teach grammar to others. (5) To come back

(1) St. J. Chrys. In the Library of Fathers, vol. 36, p. 15; see also St. J. Chrys.: On Tim. 1, V, 1, in Migne P.G. 62, 527.

(2) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech II (Apologetic), 47, in Migne P.G. 35, 456; see also Ibid., 50, in Migne Ibid. 460.

(3) M. Choniates: "To those pretending not to be fond of display", 9, in F. Lambron: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. I, p. 10.

(4) K. Krumbacher G.S.L. 313, 15 "Theodora Prodromos", vol. II, pp. 714-15. the title of this letter is: "Ἀναθῆς ἡ κατ' ἐαυτῷ γραμματικὸς".

to St. Gregory of Nazianzus, he says that the teacher must have such preparation "so that he may tend his flock with science, but not with the equipment of an inexperienced shepherd." (1) By 'science' we must understand not only knowledge of particular subjects but also a sound educational and psychological knowledge and experience. Let us see then what Byzantines understood by such knowledge.

6. PSYCHOLOGICAL IDEAS OF BYZANTINE EDUCATORS RELATED TO EDUCATION

We have already dealt with this topic to some extent. To complete it we must refer briefly to some psychological ideas which had direct bearing on education and teaching in Byzantium.

The role of heredity in our life and education has been discussed more or less extensively so that there is not need to say much here. St. Gregory of Nyssa with a view to encouraging his audience to take care of their development makes an important remark: "The principles of each individual's development were established at his conception and he receives no additional gifts as he grows older but the principles established at his conception hold all his capacity for development." (2) In the foreground here we have a basic notion of modern Psychology, that nothing can develop ability in a person if there is not an innate tendency towards this established at his conception. However, there is great scope for the development of these tendencies or 'gifts' in persons of great ability. The same notion we see expressed by other Byzantine writers, as, for instance, by Michael Psellus, who also speaks about 'maturation' as an important factor in education (3) - i.e. as playing its part for the acquisition of certain abilities, knowledge of certain things, etc.

Another fundamental psychological notion held by Byzantines was that the child was conceived not as an 'adult in miniature' - i.e. 'homunculus' - but as a growing and changing organism. It has in the various stages

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- (1) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech II (Aplogetic), 117, in Migne P.G. 35, 513.B-C.
 - (2) St. Greg. Nyssa: On the words of the Bible: 'Faciamus hominem etc.' I, in Migne P.G. 44, 269; St. Basil: "De hominis structura", I, Ibid. 30, 25.
 - (3) M. Psellus: "On Constantine's (Monomachus) advent to the throne etc." in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, p. 123; see also Ibid. "In praise of the patriarch Const. Leichudes", pp. 390-91.

of its development different needs, interest, powers, etc., and is capable of education and perfection by virtue of its natural endowments and its personal endeavours, on the one hand, and of the influence of the 'environment' on the other. Here is an interesting passage from which the preface of any modern Psychology could start: "...the newborn child is not the same as the child who is already going to school (1) and who is capable of learning crafts and lessons; different again in the same way is the youth who is already able to venture on youthful activities; and the man is different again from the youth, both in the firmness and size of his body and the fullness of the lesson." (2) The ideas included in this quotation are so clear that they do not need any analysis: the notions of gradual growth and development and change in abilities and pursuits are in the foreground. The idea of gradual change in development is seen in many other writers some of whom consider that the change in character takes place according to 'weeks of age' (3) - i.e. every seven years - or 'every two weeks of age' (4) - i.e. every fourteen years - from infancy to the old age. (5) Very interesting is the following quotation, too, from St. Gregory of Nyssa. "Just as different kinds of activity are appropriate to the different ages of the body, so it is with the soul also; there is an order of succession of experience which leads the growing man to the life of virtue." (6) In this remark St. Gregory

(1) Meaning "primary school".

(2) St. Basil: On Psalm 44, 1, in Migne P.G. 29, 388.

(3) St. Greg. Nyssa: On the words of the Bible: "Faciamus hominem etc." I, in Migne P.G. 44, 269.

(4) St. John Dam.: Fragments: "Quid est homo", in Migne P.G. 95, 244.

(5) This division of life into seven-year periods has a very long history, of course. Solon (VI B.C.) has a poem of eighteen lines describing the ten successive seven-year periods of life. The notion was taken up by Hippocrates and the Pythagorians and there are traces of it in Plato (Laws 772 D) and Aristotle (Rhet. 1390 b q). A simpler and probably older division was into four periods of twenty years. The Byzantines anyhow follow the seven-year periods of life in our physical and psychological development. See, St. John Dam.: "Sacred Parallels", A; 8, in Migne P.G. 95, 1108 d-1109 a.

(6) St. Greg. Nyssa: On the Song of Songs, I, in Migne P.G. 44, 768 A (paraphrased).

tries to show why in the study of Solomon's three books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs) the last must be taken after the first two, because of the difficulty of understanding its subject-matter. The remark, however, has a general application in matters of learning.

As to the fundamental notions of the Psychology of individual differences they abound in the works of Byzantine writers. We have already mentioned some opinions of Michael Psellus about individual differences due to inherited factors. This matter has been closely connected with individual work in schools and it will be considered later. For the moment it is enough to state that Byzantine educationists accepted the existence of individual differences in pupils under instruction (1) by virtue of which some found learning easier than others, even if they had the same opportunities in their environment - i.e. in family, school, etc. (2)

Of course, along with such valid psychological ideas, extremely radical for their times, of which most modern followers of child and developmental Psychology would be envious, there are also ideas now proved wrong by the contemporary psychological research. Such is, for instance, the 'faculty Psychology theory' - i.e. the theory speaking about the three powers of the human soul: intellect, feeling and will - inherited by the Byzantines from the ancient Greeks. (3) At the same time, however we see the same or other Byzantine writers expressing the notion that our soul is a unity in itself, and therefore, that a human being's normal development is possible only by a harmonious and symmetrical cultivation of all its powers. Eustathius of Thessalonica speaks about this need

(1) St. Greg. Naz.: *Speech II (Apologetic)*, 43, in Migne P.G. 35, 453.

(2) Eust. Thessl: "On the Pontecostal Hymn" 84, in Migne P.G. 136, 597 B; also M. Psellus: "In praise of the Patriarch Const. Leichudes" in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. IV, pp. 390-91, and "In praise of Mich. Cerularius" Ibid. p. 331.

(3) St. John Dam.: "On the three parts of the soul" in 'Fragments' in Migne P.G. 95, 229 D; Eust. Thess.: "De emendanda vita monastica", 52 in Migne P.G. 135, 772; Nic. Blennydos: "Epitome of Logic" ch. 3, 11-14 where he reports Aristotle's views, in Migne P.G. 142, 712-16; M. Psellus: "In praise of Cerularius" in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, pp. 331-32 and Letters, 171 (to Iacites), Ibid. vol. V, pp. 435-37.

and possibility, referring to a person who really achieved such a development and perfection in his own soul. (1) Similar views are put forward by Michael Psellus. (2)

The Byzantine writers in education dealt also with many other psychological problems of practical value, such as the problem of learning processes in connection with memory, exercise and repetitions, or the matter of habit formation or the role of imitation in our life, or the problems about human passions and desires and so on, all problems referring to the knowledge of the human soul and mind. But to treat with all these - and other - psychological problems here would lead us very far, and to some extent away from the chief aim of this work. Nevertheless, there will be a chance to speak of them in connection with the problems concerned with instruction and guiding of youth. What I believe is noteworthy here is the fact that all these notions, so familiar in modern educational psychology and research today, were the outcome of acute and patient observations of the growing human mind, carried out by introspection as well as observation - i.e. by subjective psychological methods. They had profited by the study of ancient Greek writers as well, especially Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Plutarch and the Stoics in general. Despite their acute power of psychological observation and introspection, however, they kept their humility and prudence by recognising that it is a "hard task to analyse a soul" as Wordsworth, the English poet wrote, and that the only one who can do that is God, because "only He scrutinises the heart." (3)

(1) Eust. Thess.: "De emendanda vita monastica" 52, in Migne P.G. 135, 772.

(2) M. Psellus: "In praise of Cerularius", in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. IV, pp. 331-32 and 354.

(3) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 296: "To Alphius", in Migne P.G. 78, 1509.

7. PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE ART OF TEACHING

As regards methodological problems the Byzantines paid attention both to the objective factors of teaching (psychology, principles, aids to instruction, etc.) and the subjective factor (i.e. the teacher). The basic axioms of good instruction by percept and concept formation and by activity were well known to Byzantine educators, who warmly recommended their application in the practice of teaching.

It is worth mentioning first that the Byzantines were aware of the great truth that the task of education as teaching was a matter 'sui-generis', differing from any other occupation, because it concerned 'reasonable souls' - λογικὰς ψυχάς-. St. John Chrysostom says: "it is not with the office of teaching as it is with other tasks. For the silversmith, when he has fabricated a vessel of any kind, and laid it aside, will find it on his return just as he left it... But it is not so with us, but altogether the reverse; for we have no lifeless vessels to forge, but reasonable souls." (1) The question then arises, how are we to deal with these 'reasonable souls' in teaching them. The first thing to learn, the Byzantines say, is the nature of the pupil's mind, and how it works. On this point the Byzantines were of the opinion that complete intellectual development was not to be seen in the period of childhood, namely that intellectual maturation is not a characteristic of childhood. This means that it is difficult for a child to understand abstract ideas without the help of concrete things and situations. The Byzantine educators know very well that perceptions come before conceptions. In teaching practice this meant that instruction had to start from things already familiar to a child, i.e. from the child's experience of the physical world about him. St. John Chrysostom holds that the child's mind is very "delicate", immature, just like a baby's stomach, which being delicate at first must be fed with "watery food" and gradually as he develops, be introduced to "solid food" - i.e. to abstract ideas.(2)

(1) St. J. Chrys. In the Library of Fathers, vol. 9, p. 229.

(2) St. J. Chrys. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 161.

This process was indicated to us by God Himself after all, according to St. John: "Scriptures were not delivered from the beginning", he says, "because God was desirous of instructing the nature of man not by letter but by things. And by things means by means of the creation itself." (1) The child's attachment to earthly things and concrete situations is vividly described by St. John in the following passages: "small boys", he says, "are accustomed not to aim at great things, but to marvel at things of no worth ... For when they hear the things of the heavens they do not even pay attention, and like boys they are excited by all the things of earth, and they marvel at the wealth of this world and they honour luxury in the present life." (2) St. Basil also puts forward the same idea. (3) What comes out of these remarks is very clear. Instruction in things intelligible to the child is to be given at first; sense perceptions are always useful and necessary to a deeper understanding of things and words. Even if we start with words - i.e. with oral instruction - the presentation of things themselves or diagrams and the like must follow for a better understanding and consolidation of the subject taught by words. (4) And this holds true not only in the case of small children but also in the case of adults, as Michael Choniates assures us. (5)

The senses, no doubt, play an important role in the acquisition of knowledge from the things themselves. But for the real perception of things and for concept-formation the senses fall short. It is necessary for our 'logos' - through our intellect and reasoning - to participate in the task of knowledge. A human being, according to Aristotle's definition, which the Byzantines (6) also accepted, is a logical animal, and by virtue of his 'logos' he is distinguished from the other creatures.

(1) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid., p. 161.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: On John 81, 3, in Migne P.G. 59, 440.

(3) St. Basil: "On the Holy Spirit" 14(33), in Migne P.G. 32, 125-28.

(4) Asterius of Amasea: Homilia IX, "In S. Phocam", in Migne P.G. 40, 301.

(5) M. Choniates: Letter 102, 13 (to Eustathius), in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc.", vol. II, p. 190.

(6) Nic. Blommydos: "Epitome of Logic" I, 1, in Migne P.G. 147, 693.
 "Homo est animal rationale, mortale, intellectus et doctrinae capax";
 See also St. John Dam.: "Fragments", in Migne P.G. 95, 244.

With the help of this weapon he is called to know and conquer the world visible and invisible. The other animals live and act having as their guide the blind power of instinct. As for man, St. Basil says, "God gave him reason instead of everything else ... and the lack of necessities He devised for us as an exercise of the mind." (1) The knowledge of truth is something which is not only needed by man but also is commanded him by God. (2) Elsewhere he says that by the help of 'reason' we shall become wise. (3)

'Senses' and 'reason' then are the means at our disposal to acquire knowledge and discover truth. No doubt Byzantines considered that of these two our 'reason' is more trustworthy than our 'senses'. St. Basil, for instance, says that "we must not then measure the moon with the eye, but with the reason." (4) By 'eye' is meant 'the senses' in general. The meaning of this quotation is, of course, that the senses alone cannot offer us precise knowledge of things about us. Modern psychologists have shown this by experiments as well. Real knowledge presupposes the functioning of reason, an active participation of our mind, and at least an internal power of perception. It cannot be acquired by the passive intake of external stimuli. In this connection it is interesting to mention how one of Byzantine educationists analyses the phenomenon of perception, and note that this important psychological as well as philosophical problem, which Locke tried to explain, attracted the attention of Byzantine thinkers, too. "...but (it is said) the organs of sense are of a twofold nature. We ourselves also said they were of a twofold nature, but perception, who keeps her chamber within like a most grave

(1) St. Basil: On Isaiah, 6, in Migne P.G. 30, 128.

(2) St. Basil: Ibid., 94 "We men were brought into this world as into a common school and we were ordered, having received a mind and having eyes to perceive with, to see God as if we were reading letters dealing with the management and administration of the universe." in Migne Ibid, 273.

(3) St. Basil: "On 'Attende tibi ipsi'", 6. "You received an animated (intelligent) soul with which you are aware of God and you perceive the nature of things by reasoning and reap the sweetest fruit of wisdom.", in Migne P.G. 31, 212.

(4) St. Basil: "On Hex.", VI, 11, in Migne P.G. 29, 145.

mistress, is single in kind, and these sense-instruments are placed before her like doorkeepers and handmaids, and when they do not receive from her, as from some centre of direct authority, the power to perceive, they are opened in vain, as if they were parts of statues." (1)

The value of 'reason' is easily appreciated in the knowledge of invisible things, viz. of things perceived by the mind only through reasoning. By the help of reason and by 'science' - ἐπιστήμη - we fly up 'to the things beyond the senses'. (2) And, therefore, we must praise a person who makes the proper use of his 'reason' in actual life. (3)

I have perhaps extended the argument a little, but I have done so in order first to show how much Byzantine educationists valued the senses in the acquisition of knowledge, and secondly to dispel any doubt as to the empiricist view that seemed to emerge when I tried to show the important role that the Byzantines thought the senses played in the child's first instruction. I think, that what the Byzantines were aiming at was knowledge by understanding, with the help of the 'senses' and of 'reason'. The elevation to the realm of ideas ought to take part step by step, slowly but steadily. I now go further and add that reason also has its limitations, according to the Byzantines. The Byzantines were not rationalists - except in a few individual cases, perhaps. To them our power of reason is also limited by nature. "Thanks to the privilege of reason", St. Basil says, "you are capable of raising yourself to heaven", (4) but only in so far, the same Father says, as our natural abilities, given to us by the Holy Spirit, allow. (5) It is with this in mind that Michael Psellus speaks, when he says that "having heard there is some wisdom that is beyond demonstration, which only the inspired man knows, I did not pass this by, but having lit up certain obscure books, as far as was reasonable and my nature allowed, I learned them." (6)

(1) M. Choniates: Letter 173, 13 (to John) in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc" vol. II, p. 342.

(2) M. Choniates: "To those pretending not to be fond of display" in S. Lambros Ibid. vol. I, p. 19.

(3) M. Choniates, Ibid. 37, p. 21.

(4) St. Basil: "On the Hex." VI, 1, in Migne P.G. 29, 120.

(5) St. Basil: "On the Holy Spirit", 9 (22), in Migne P.G. 32, 109.

(6) M. Psellus: "On Constantine's (Monomachus) advent to the throne" in K. Sathas B.C.H. vol. IV, p. 121.



In brief then we can say that in learning we have to start from things familiar to us and use our senses and intellect to reach from the perception of things to concepts and the realm of ideas and truth, which must always be the ultimate aim of teaching. In this realm first place is given by the Byzantines to the Bible, the message of God to humanity.

The other maxim of modern teaching - i.e. the need for activity on the part of the educant, was also held in high esteem by the educationists of Byzantium. True and sure learning is impossible through passive acceptance of things taught, through the learning of things by rote. Active participation and effort by the learner is necessary. Byzantine educators realised this, and it was for this reason that they recommended and encouraged the learner to "put his hands to the task" and not to accept everything from the teacher. Their aim seems to have been to avoid the passivity that may result if the task of teaching is performed by the teacher alone. Such a practice was considered by them a very bad one in the process of learning and education in general. St. Basil is directly attacking it in the passage quoted below. To develop this view, a very healthy one, he starts from an analogy, used first by Pythagoras, with what happens in the circus where the spectator seconds the efforts of the athletes: "The object of this in my opinion is that each one there should be not only a spectator of the athletes, but, in a certain measure, a true athlete himself. Thus, to investigate the great and prodigious show of creation, to understand the supreme and ineffable wisdom, you must bring personal light to the contemplation of the wonders which I spread before your eyes, and help me according to your power, in this struggle, where you are not so much judges as fellow-combatants, for fear lest my error might turn to your common prejudice"(1) The content of this passage being self-evident, there is no need for comments. We only note that teaching is seen here not as a one-way process, with the teacher as 'giver' and the pupil as a 'receiver' of his teacher's sayings. On the contrary, St. Basil sees teaching as a full "two-way"

(1) St. Basil: On the Hex., VI, 1, in Migne P.G. 29, 117.

process, an interacting process between mentally living beings who are called upon to perform a task together in close co-operation.

The teacher's part is to spread before his pupils eyes the wonders of the creation and of human endeavour, and stir up the pupil's mind to question what he has been told or what he himself come to perceive. (1) The pupil's role is an altogether active one; he is not a mere spectator; he is invited by his teacher to "bring personal light to the contemplation of these wonders" - for 'wonders' are or should be the puzzling questions that either the teacher or 'creation itself' puts in front of him. It is obvious that the pupil's invitation to an active participation must be in accordance with his powers, which he must use to enquire into the matter presented to him. Eustathius of Thessalonica also recommends this to his listeners when he says: "Having heard here the voice and wisdom, do not be influenced unthinkingly by what you have heard, but examine it deeply." (2) Even in poems the Byzantine thinkers give similar advice. (3)

But why should teachers insist that the learner must actively participate in the contemplation of the "wonders" which the teacher spreads before him? St. Basil gives us the reasons for it. According to him it is not only the final product of the contemplation that matters. That is equally - if not more - important for the learner is the process by which he sees the truth. It is the delight that springs out of our 'speculations' about the nature of things, the same delight that accompanies the final product of these contemplations. It is the intellectual as much as any other activity which the student puts into this process that matters as much as the result. In the way, St. Basil adds, we satisfy our desire for knowledge, our other motive for learning. Speaking of the Bible and the way it presents us truth about God, St. Basil says: "It is not that the Bible grudges us the knowledge of the truth, but that it kindles our desire, by which means it suggests to us some trace and

(1) St. Basil: On the Hex., V, 8, in Migne P.G. 29, 113.

(2) Eust. Thess.: "Letter to Thessaloniceans" 18, in Migne P.G. 135, 1045 C

(3) See poem "Oponeas", lines 168-171.

indication of the mystery. We seize with delight and carefully keep the fruit of laborious effort whilst a possession easily attained is despised." (1) St. John Chrysostom also has very interesting things to say on these matters. He also pleads for the learner's participation in his own education and perfection. The reason is clear; "In the case of the earth all depends upon the husbandman, for it is a lifeless subject and prepared only to be passive. But in the spiritual soil it is quite otherwise. All is not the teacher's part, but at least half, if not more, the part of the pupils. It is our part indeed to cast the seed, but yours to do the things prescribed, to shew the fruit in your memory by works, to tear up the thorns by the roots." (2) On another occasion he recommends his listeners to continue their efforts to improve themselves when they are away from his direct guidance. (3)

Michael Psellus also says to someone wishing to become his pupil that he as his teacher will do his best for his initiation into rhetoric and philosophy. But he asks from his future pupil to accept his teaching $\psi : \lambda \circ \sigma \acute{o} \varphi \omega \zeta$ - i.e. *thinkingly* - and not to make correction difficult for his teacher. (4)

The question, however, arises how is the teacher to carry out his task so as to give the pupil the chance to participate fully in it. No doubt he must be a learned man, an authority on his subject. He must always remember in the depth of his wisdom, however, that, if he wants to be of some help to his pupil, he ought to remain an ignorant Socrates, being aware of one thing - that he knows nothing. This must be the starting point in his teaching. He must show off only his humility by which his contact with his pupils becomes more intimate and sincere, and his

(1) St. Basil: On the Hex. III, 2, in Migne P.G. 29, 56 B; On Isaiah, 6, Ibid. 30, 128 C.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: On Thess. 2, III, 3, in Migne P.G. 62, 483; see also On Col. 3, IX, 1, in Migne P.G. 62, 362.

(3) St. J. Chrys. In the Library of Fathers: "I supplicate and beseech you to put your own hand to the work; and when you depart hence, to show the same earnest regard for your own safety, that I have shewn for your amendment.", vol. 9. p. 229.

(4) M. Psellus: Letters, 16, in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 256.

invitation to co-operate welcomed with pleasure. In the last lines of the passage from St. Basil writings, quoted above (1) we have an example of this attitude. The same remark is made by Eustathius of Thessalonica when he advises his listeners to listen to what he teaches them: "If you do not like what I teach then question it, and let the opposing arguments and the solutions be weighted on a balance accurately... Each of you has in his mind the testing stone and can by virtue of it test how much in these notions is free from defilement"; (2) and he goes on to say: "correction, if it is loved, makes us wise; 'correct the wise man' and he will love you, because he has taken the opportunity from this correction to become wiser." (3) This is, then, the humble opinion of two conscientious teachers - the one of the fourth and the other of the twelfth century - on the procedure which every good teacher must follow if he wishes to be a useful adviser to growing minds. They are certainly not like those teachers "who are apt to forget that they are only subordinate elements in the education of a grown man", to use A. Whitehead's phrase. (4) Their teaching practice proves it.

The factor of love also plays an important part in the active participation of the pupil in the process of education as we have already noted. (5) The patriarch Germanus II, addressing himself to his "beloved spiritual children" says that his aim is their improvement, but it cannot be achieved except by their love (6) - since it promotes the eager participation and acceptance of what the teacher says to his pupils. Another important condition is the exciting of the pupil's interest in the thing taught. This can be achieved, St. John Chrysostom says, if the teacher "takes fitting seasons, so that he may address his discourse to

(1) See above p. 52.

(2) Eust. Thess.: Speech III, "On the Lent", 30, in Migne P.G. 135, 660-61.

(3) Eust. Thess.: Ibid. 37, Ibid, 665 B.

(4) A. Whitehead: "The aims of Education", p. 53.

(5) See above pp. 40-42.

(6) Germanus II in Lagopatis S.H.: "Germanus II etc." III, Speech 3, 1, p. 226.

a listener well affected, and free from all care and distress." (1) Starting his teaching by attracting the pupil's interest the teacher has a good chance of directing his attention to the new topic and thus of imparting the material in the most fruitful way.

The pupil's active participation in teaching makes the task of education successful. It also trains the pupil to exercise initiative in his later life, too, and helps him to form the good habit of self-education and independent work. This habit was of great importance to the Byzantines, who used to continue their study alone, as well as to the pupils working at home, an activity, which occupied much of their time outside the classroom. Fear of punishment and other means could keep the pupil studying at home till very late at night. No doubt such a study had better results if it was the consequence of the pupil's interest and his ability for work on his own. The learned Dorotheos speaking of his school years says: "When I was studying in the secular school I worked hard from the beginning; and when I first took the book I was like someone going to touch a wild beast. But, when I forced myself continually, God helped me, and I was so seized by the thing as not to know what I was eating or drinking or how I was sleeping; so fired was I by my reading; and I was never dragged out to lunch by any of my friends; nor did I take company with them at the time of study." (2)

8. TEACHING METHODS

The problem concerning the methods of instruction has already been on but not fully examined. It has been stated, for instance, that the teacher, in order to stimulate activity in the learner, puts the topic to be taught or examined in the form of a question calling for an answer. Using questions the teacher succeeds in keeping the pupils attending his instruction and taking part in it. From the evidence quoted already we see that the method of questioning was in everyday use in the schools - especially in the schools of 'encyclios paideia'. The Byzantines liked

(1) St. J. Chrys.. In the Library of Fathers, vol. 9, p. 190.

(2) St. Dorotheos: "Helpful Teachings", 10, 2, in Higne P.C. 88, 1725 B.

discussion and the teachers should teach their pupils the way of participating in any discussion. Among those teachers who used systematically the method of questioning and discussion are St. Basil, Michael Psellus, Eustathius of Thessalonica, and many others.

Another way of offering new material to the pupil, widely used in Byzantine schools, was "oral instruction" or narrative by the teacher. Instruction in religion, history and other subjects was mostly given in this way. Naturally, preaching was also a kind of oral instruction. Generally speaking the Byzantines highly valued 'oratory' and recognised its manifold possibilities and usefulness. For this reason they studied the problems related to it, as a method of instruction, quite deeply. After all in the schools of rhetoric they were trained to oratory first of all. They first recognised that some persons were gifted with the talent of eloquence. We have already seen Psellus' opinion (1) on this point. St. Basil considers this quality as necessary to every teacher.(2) Eustathius of Thessalonica, discussing this matter, illustrates well some qualities of the good speaker. He finds that quickness in speech is not a useful characteristic of the good teacher-speaker. The teacher who speaks quickly, he says, blurs the words and it is difficult for the pupils to follow what he is saying; and it is also much more difficult for them to retain the meaning of the teacher's words in their mind. Whereas the teacher who speaks slowly and repeats what he says helps the pupils to grasp his words firmly and follow all of his instruction in comfort. (3) Accent is another element to which the good teacher should pay attention; because it makes the meaning of his words more or less easy to understand. (4)

The quality of 'eloquence' could and should be acquired by every teacher by strenuous and continuous study. As Isidore Pelusiotes says: "the power of speaking well becomes considerably if it is cultivated and

(1) M. Psellus: "On Constantine's (Monomachus) advent to the throne", in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. IV, pp. 123-24, where he repeatedly speaks about his gift of eloquence.

(2) St. Basil: On Isaiah, 1, 2, in Migne P.G. 30, 481 A.

(3) Eust. Thess.: "On the Pentecostal Hymn", 6, in Migne P.G. 136, 525.

(4) Is. Pelus.: Letters III, 301 (to Archontius) in Migne P.G. 78, 973.

irrigated properly; but if neglected it easily goes away and completely vanishes." (1) Nevertheless, eloquence without 'virtue' was but a dangerous advantage to any teacher. Teachers should have both, but of the two they preferred the latter. They could imagine a bad speaker but virtuous person as a teacher but not the other way round.

Teaching by demonstration was a well known way of instruction warmly recommended by Byzantine educationists. The pupil's senses and the use of his hands play an important role in using this way of instruction. Demonstration was not only used in learning arts and handicrafts, but also in the instruction of theoretical topics, such as astronomy, geometry, medicine (2), etc., as well as in matters concerning character formation (3). Demonstration may be accompanied by a simultaneous verbal explanation, as Eustathius of Thessalonica says. The latter is as good as the former. Eustathius tries to show this by telling us an anecdote: A king who suffered from robes asked a wise man's advice. His messenger demanded it written on a paper. The wise man, however, gave his answer by a symbolic action, ὄψα λαλῶν - without any words. He and the messenger went together into a field of crops ready for the harvest. The wise man cut off with a knife some of the tallest ears of wheat and returned to his house, followed by his visitor. When the messenger asked again for an answer, he said to him: "Go and tell the king what you have soon done." After carefully listening to what his messenger reported the king thought about it and he himself used action rather than words in following the wise man's advice. (4) Teaching by demonstration in any form was warmly recommended because the Byzantine educators believed that

(1) In. Pelus. Ibid III, 96, (to Paul), in Migne P.G. 78, 805.

(2) Asterius of Amasea: Homilia IX "In S. Phocam", in Migne P.G. 40, 301; also M. Choniates: Letter 102 (12) (to Euthemius) in S. Lambros "Mich. Acem. etc.", vol. II, p. 190.

(3) Eust. Thess.: Speech III On the Lent 2, 6, in Migne P.G. 135, 636, 637.

(4) Eust. Thess.: Ibid 18, in Migne P.G. 135, 649. The story about the tallest ears of corn is told first by Herodotus, V, 92; he says that this advice was given to Periander, tyrant of Corinth (c 600 B.C.), by Thersiboulos, tyrant of Miletus. A later version in Aristotle's Politics (1284^a, 1311^a) has it the other way round.

"an action is more explicit than speech, as sight gives a better specification of something than hearing; hence demonstrative teaching is more definite than oral instruction."(1)

Looking at the problem of instruction from another point of view, namely the number of pupils to be taught, we may distinguish the teaching of individuals from class or group teaching. Individual teaching was widely used in the schools. The notion that, in teaching, the individual pupil should be paid due attention was widely propagated in Byzantium.(2) The existence of individual differences in the pupils taught was considered a fact beyond question. So the Byzantine educationists recommended individual treatment not only in the various lessons at school, but also in other tasks. (3) They had quite good reasons for doing so. First, we must not forget that compulsory education was unknown in Byzantium. Every parent was free to send his child to a teacher whenever he wished or found it convenient. The teacher, therefore, had to start his teaching of a pupil when the pupil was presented to him. (4) So, each pupil - except beginners in the elementary subjects - had a certain background of knowledge which differed from that of his fellows. The teacher could cope with this situation only by teaching the pupils individually - or in small groups. In addition, because of individual differences, the progress of pupils in letters was not uniform. Some progressed faster than others. This situation also could be successfully faced only by individual or group teaching, which could be done in most cases, because the teacher usually had a limited number of pupils to teach, especially in secondary schools. Finally - and this is a very important reason -

(1) St. J. Chrys. ap. Antonius Melissa I, 47, in Migne P.G. 136, 928.

(2) St. Greg. Naz. ap. Antonius Melissa II, 3, in Migne P.G. 136, 1017; Is. Pelus.: Letters IV, 145 (to Theodosius), in Migne P.G. 78, 1225-28; Photius: Letters, II, 30 (to Zachariah of Antioch), in Migne P.G. 102, 844; M. Psellus "In praise of Xiphilinus", in K. Sathas, B.G.M. vol. IV, p. 440; Eust. Thess.: "On the Pentecostal Hymn" 84, in Migne P.G. 136, 597 B; etc.

(3) Eust. Thess.: "On the Pentecostal Hymn" 84, in Migne P.G. 136, 597 B; see also Photius: Letters, II, 30 (to Zachariah of Antioch) in Migne P.G. 102, 844.

(4) This was mainly true of secondary school pupils.

the demand for individual teaching was in full accordance with Christian views. The message of 'personal' salvation, which stresses the need for individual endeavour for self-perfection, had its bearing upon teaching practice and education in general. This is proved by innumerable references in patristic and other works.

From the recognition mainly of individual differences, there follows the demand to the practising teachers to treat their pupils as individuals. Thus St. John Chrysostom advises the teacher "to make use of frequent appeals, adapting the discourse to the listeners in all varieties of manner; since it is probable that in so large an assembly there is a great variety of temperaments; and the teacher's task is to cure not only one but many different wounds, and therefore it is necessary that the medicine of instruction should be various." (1) Here the idea of individual treatment is broadly propagated. At the same time, however, he speaks of 'assembly', i.e. of an audience, a number of individuals, who are taught simultaneously, though they might be of different temperament. We understand then that his recommendations concern class-teaching here, which means that even in class-teaching the teacher should take into account individual differences.

Class-teaching was used side by side with individual and group-teaching. We also have evidence that the monitorian system was known to Byzantines. This system was used in some cases, when a teacher had many pupils of various educational levels and of different background and abilities. In this case, we are told, the school-master taught the best pupils of the higher grade, who in their turn taught the rest under the teacher's personal guidance. But let us listen to Eustathius of Thessalonica, whose evidence is unique, very clear and extremely interesting on this point, and refers to a university teacher, whose practice he recommends: "As a great teacher and master of teachers.... he would not wish to perform his work of initiation entirely by himself; but having instructed others in various kinds of wisdom as much as is agreed he asks them to teach the students below them. But he is present, however, at the teaching of all dogmas and analyses whatever points present difficulties;

(1) St. J. Chrys. In the Library of Fathers, vol. 9, p. 241.

and not only this but he corrects whatever needs correction ... " (1)

The Byzantine educators dwelt upon many other methodological problems such as the problem of repetition, the problem of the amount of teaching material, etc. In some of the passages quoted below one can see how they tackled those and other problems of everyday teaching. St. John Chrysostom, for instance, speaking of the novices in schools says: "When the children are just brought to their learning their teachers do not give them once for all, but they often repeat to them the same sort of words, so that what is said may be easily implanted in their minds, and they may not be vexed at the first onset with quantity, and with finding it hard to remember, and become less active in picking up what is given them, a kind of sluggishness arising from the difficulty." (2) How many important principles of good instruction are there in only one sentence! Knowledge is desirable, no doubt, but the teacher must be careful to impart it "not once for all" but "a little at a time", so that the pupil can bear it in his mind and keep his mind active. In another passage St. John Chrysostom explains in a vivid way why only a very small quantity of teaching material must be given to the pupil on each occasion. "We give you a little at a time so that the retention of what is successively set before you may be easy..." Using the analogy of what builders do he goes on to say: "Those builders let us imitate, and in like manner build up your soul. For we fear lest, while the first foundation is but newly laid, the addition of the succeeding speculations may do harm to the former, through the insufficiency of the intellect to contain them all at once." (3) To obstruct the mind's activity - which is easily done by increasing the amount of material being given to the pupil - is a great advantage in teaching according to St. John and other Byzantine educationists. To illustrate the truth of this idea it is enough to listen to a contemporary educationist as eminent as A. Whitehead speaking on the same matter. (4) Storing the mind with more material than it can

(1) Eust. Thess.: "On the duty etc.", 59, in Migne P.G. 136, 337. B-C.

(2) St. J. Chrys. In the Library of Fathers, vol. 36, p. 37.

(3) St. J. Chrys. Ibid, p. 63; see also St. Athanasius: "To Castor", letter I, 1, in Migne P.G. 28, 852.

(4) A. Whitehead: "The Aims of Education", chapter 1.

assimilate never has any good effect. This moral we get from the quotation from St. John as well as from other Byzantine writers. Michael Choniates, for example, says to an abbot: "In the present lessons do not force the boy to take too big a step, contrary to wise precept and skillful method," (1) and accuses him because he taught his young brother more than he could learn, and not in the proper order, with the result that he was backward in reading and writing. (2)

As to repetition, it is necessary in the process of learning and in the assimilation of any new lesson. Only after the pupil has mastered his lesson are we to proceed to impart new material. (3) Speaking about telling stories from the Bible to young children St. John Chrysostom advises a father thus: "And so much shall suffice for him at first. Afterwards, one evening during the supper, talk of this again to him, and let his mother repeat the same things another time. And then, when he has heard it several times ask him: 'My son, repeat the story to me'". Elsewhere St. John says: "This seems to me to be the best sort of teaching not to leave off giving advice about anything until we see it leading to some result... This is what teachers do." (4) Very similar to this is what Michael Choniates also says, i.e. that in order to have a good result "having spoken of one thing, not to cease from teaching this, until we know you have succeeded therein, and then to pass to something else... He who divides his efforts by seeking many ends at the same time fails to secure even one." (5) The insistence of the Byzantines on repetition as an important factor in learning is evident in their works intended to be textbooks as it were. Suitable for readers. The writers repeat the same thing more than once but not in a monotonous way, not in the same form. The sense of novelty makes the idea expressed attractive to the

(1) M. Choniates: Letters, 130, 4 (to the abbot of the holy Confessors) in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. II, p. 262.

(2) M. Choniates: Ibid.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc.", 40.

(4) St. J. Chrys.: On David and Saul I, 1, in Migne P.G. 54, 677.

(5) M. Choniates: speech "On the dual synthesis of man", 20, in S. Lambros "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. I, p. 194. D. Balanos suggests that this speech belongs not to M. Choniates but to the Patriarch Germanus II, but this is a matter which does not concern us here. (See D. Balanos: "The Byzantine Ecclesiastical Writers", pp. 108-109).

reader and helps him to an unforced understanding and assimilation of it. (1)

The problem of how the material taught can be properly understood by the pupils attracted the attention of Byzantine educators. Thus according to Eustathius the teacher who has discoursed to his pupils eloquently and finds that they have no profound idea of the concepts and are therefore slow to learn, "does not refrain from detecting and bringing to light what it is they find hard to understand, but explains it clearly and so gains their souls." (2) "we see here that though eloquent teaching is necessary it is not sufficient for the understanding of the material taught. For this illustration, explanation and interpretation are also necessary. St. Basil, too, was of this opinion. "Let the teacher rearrange and elaborate for the benefit of the listeners whatever in the Scriptures is confused and abbreviated in writing".(3) And Michael Choniates praises such a teacher. As an example he cites Nicetas, bishop of his town Chonae, not his brother, of course, because he used to take from the Bible only a few things to teach to his flock and yet ... illustrated them and used simple language so as to be understood. (4)

For a better understanding of teaching material it is useful to grade it in order of difficulty (5) and according to the intellectual level and abilities of the learner. "There are, on the other hand," St. Gregory of Nazianzus says, following Paul, (6) "those who need to be fed by milk - namely, by the simplest and most elementary lessons - as many as are young and just fitted for the practice of study, for they cannot bear the strong food of reason; for if we give them this which is beyond their power, they will become crushed and burdened, their intellect being

(1) See the exposition of the topic about "rain, hail ... etc." by Nic. Clemmydes in his "Epitome of Physics", 14 (1-12), in Migne P.G. 142, 1141-49.

(2) Eust. Thess.: "On the duty etc..", 25, in Migne P.G. 136, 317.

(3) St. Basil : "On Isaiah" 1,2 in Migne P.G. 30, 121 A.

(4) M. Choniates: "In praise of Nicetas, bishop of Chonae", 68, in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. I, pp. 45-46.

(5) M. Choniates: Letters, 130, 4 ("To the abbot of the holy Confessors") in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol II, p. 262.

(6) Paul Heb. 5, 2.

not adequate to hold and assimilate what enters into the mind, and their original powers will be damaged. But those, on the other hand, who, through having sufficiently exercised their 'senses' in the distinction of the true and the false, need the wisdom, spoken among the perfect ones, and the nurture which is higher and more solid - if they were to drink milk and eat vegetables, food for the weak, they would meet with difficulties. And very naturally: since they are not strengthened according to Christ, nor increasing with the proper increase, which is brought about by the 'logos', which in the case of a man well educated, brings him to manly perfection and leads him to a measure of spiritual maturity⁽¹⁾ The content of this quotation is very clear and illustrates quite well the reasons why adaptation of teaching material to the powers of the learners is necessary.

Another condition for the success of instruction was the existence in the classroom of a pleasant rather than severe atmosphere. "Nature is not accustomed to accept violent instruction but those things which enter with joy and pleasure somehow remain in us in a more lasting way"⁽²⁾ St. Basil affirms, here following Plato. ⁽³⁾

9. IDEAS OF BYZANTINE EDUCATIONISTS ON DISCIPLINE - OR GUIDING THE PUPILS

In the previous chapters we discussed the Byzantine concept of the ideal teacher: a person adorned with the merits of a moral man, and of an instructor, possessor of the right knowledge of the methodology of teaching and of child psychology as well. The latter knowledge was necessary because the aim of the teacher was not only to teach his subject but also to improve the pupil from a moral point of view - to form his character and personality. To attain these aims it was helpful to use some means beyond the actual teaching. It is obvious that for any instruction - particularly oral - to be carried out with success, the teacher should

(1) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech II (Apologetic) 45, in Migne P.G. 35, 453.

(2) St. Basil: On Psalm 1, 2, in Migne P.G. 29, 213.

(3) Plato: Rep. 536 E - 537 A.

have control of his pupils. Class discipline was a problem fully examined by the Byzantine educationists. We take the term "discipline" in its broadest sense, as meaning more than the mere maintenance of order and the proper method of dealing with offences in the class.

Of course, for the teacher the first requirement was to keep the pupils quiet at the time of instruction, and at the same time to secure their attention to the subject taught. (1) However, this is difficult to do with children, for youth is characterised by "elation, turmoil and rashness and whatever else is met in youth but not in age" (2), therefore, the teacher had to use other means beyond simply drawing the attention of the pupils to what he was saying to them.

The first and most effective way of doing this is supervision and at the same time checking any misbehaviour or inattention by the eye or by word. "The attention of the mind and the habit of concentration would easily be implanted in such by right education, if they were continually asked by the teachers what they are thinking about, and to what they are turning in their thoughts." (3) And we succeed in this because "the simplicity and innocence of youth and inaptitude for lying speaks out easily the secrets of the youth. But in order not to be continually caught doing forbidden things such a child would avoid unsuitable things fearing the shame of correction." (4) In this way then the teacher can attain 'good results' in teaching various subjects. But such means aim further at the regulation of the pupils' conduct. And to this matter we shall devote the pages that follow.

As we said in the chapter on the aims of Byzantine education, the Byzantines were interested in the development of children as 'good Christians'. The chief aim of their education was the leading of a soul to perfection, and the regulation of the manners, and conduct of a growing human being in such a way that he becomes a good member of society and an integrated moral personality. This task was thought of as one of

(1) St. Basil: "On attendo tibi ipsi", I, in Migne P.G. 31, 200 A.

(2) St. Basil: "The Shorter Rules", 82, in Migne P.G. 31, 1141.

(3) St. Basil: "The Longer Rules", XV, 3, in Migne P.G. 31, 956 A.

(4) St. Basil: Ibid.

supreme importance as well as of great difficulty. The child, before he enters school, has fallen under the influence of his environment and of an education, which not always being systematic, is not, therefore, always the right one. He may have acquired many virtues, good habits and so on, but at the same time great vices also. The latter have to be rooted out and in their place the corresponding virtues implanted. This is a hard task for an educator according to the Byzantine educationists. But even if the teacher succeeds in it his task would not be wholly performed, because any human being is always exposed to temptation, which may transform virtues into vices or bring back suppressed vices perhaps.(1) It is interesting for us to learn how Byzantine teachers were advised to perform this task.

It is worth mentioning, in the first place, that more in this field than in teaching they asked for individual treatment of the educant. The persuasiveness of their argument wholly justifies this demand. St. Gregory of Nyssa says that: "Superiors ... should educate, admonish and guide those for whose souls they are responsible to God. They should give their brethren the individual treatment their different characters require, as a doctor should treat his patients," (2) St. Gregory of Nazianzus, too, warmly recommends the treatment of the souls "with differing speech and management. Some people are led by speech, while others are controlled by example. Some need the goad, some the bridle. Some are lazy and hard to propel towards the road; some are too heated and their impulses are hard to restrain ... and these speech can make better, by controlling and checking them." (3) The individuality of each soul will provide the measure for the application of this or that means of management of pupils. The same notion is put forwards by Isidore Pelusiotes and others. (4)

(1) Germanus II, in Lagopatis S.N.: "Germanus II, etc." III, Speech 4, p. 235; see also St. J. Chrys.: Speech II, 3, "On Thess." in Migne P.G. 62, 482-84.

(2) W. Jaeger: "Two Rediscovered Works etc.", pp. 112-13.

(3) St. Greg. Naz. ap. Antonius Melissa, II, 3, in Migne P.G. 136, 1017; also St. Greg. Naz. Speech II (Apologetic), 45, in Migne P.G. 35, 453.

(4) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 296 (to Alphius), 348 (to Harpocras); see also "Typikon of the monastery of Michael the Archangel on the mount Auxentius", edited by M.I. Cedecan, 4 (to the abbot), Athens 1895, pp. 28-29

The Byzantines considered the task of guiding to be both preventive and suppressive. They suggested that the teacher devote more effort to the former aspect, because it prevented vice and bad habits being implanted in the child's soul, thus making the task of education easier than if they first allowed vice to master the soul and then tried to eradicate it. (1) Another reason was that which the Greek educationists had given before the Byzantines that "a habit once chronic is more powerful than nature", and "small faults neglected grow with time to great vices". (2)

Such preventive education was to be given in Byzantine schools by carefully and continuously watching and supervising children and youths, as well as by words, counsels, admonitions, etc., as St. John Chrysostom says, (3) provided that parents or teachers apply the proper means on the proper occasion. (4)

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- (1) St. Greg. Naz. ap. Antonius Melissa, II, 80 in Migne P.G. 136, 1197; Isidore Pelusiotes in a discussion on the superiority of Christian education over human education, or of divine laws over human laws, gives an excellent analysis of the task and the good and useful results of a preventive education: "For the sacred oracles - (εὐλογητοὶ) in the Christian sense -, having laid down needful and suitable laws, put children from a very early age in the charge of teachers of virtue, preventing wickedness from rushing into their souls like a mob of revellers. For this is the best way of teaching, not to allow the evil prevail at the beginning, and then trying to drive it out; but from the start to do everything and endeavour to make the human nature immune to evil. Secular lawgivers, however, regulate human nature only when it chance to become prevented ... For it is no use threatening grown up men with punishment but you should contröol and mould them while children; in this way there would perhaps be no need of threats later." Is. Pelus.: Letters, II, 188 (to Isidore the Deacon), in Migne P.G. 78, 637.
- (2) See various authors ap. Antonius Melissa, II, 80, in Migne P.G. 136, 1197-1200.
- (3) St. J. Chrys.: "On Anna" II, 6, in Migne P.G. 54, 652.
- (4) St. J. Chrys.: "On Galatians" I, 1, "... to behave with leniency when severity is appropriate is not characteristic of a teacher but of a ravager.", in Migne P.G. 61, 611.

It seems, from the evidence we have, that preventive education was practised till the end of the Byzantine period. Michael Psellus, for instance, says that his daughter with her mother's help was being led to perfection, "on the one hand... by being checked and, on the other, by being drawn in the contrary direction by the force of maxims and maternal training." (1) Taking such measures is necessary, according to Eustathius of Thessalonica, since the teacher does everything not to train in malice but to educate in virtue. (2).

Apart from supervision, admonition was another method of guiding. Its effectiveness, however, according to Byzantine educationists, was dependent on the teacher's capacity to use it properly. First, the teacher needed to know the situation at hand, that is the pupil's temperament and motives in his deeds or words and also the way to treat the pupils effectively. Thus, when the teacher wishes to eradicate some opinion, Isidore Pelusiotes says, "he should not at once state the opposite ... but he should first undermine it well by many other devices and then turn it round to face the other way; in this way he will be acceptable and will create persuasion." (3) The teacher, in addition, ought to pay attention not only to the content of his admonition but also to the accent of his speech. (4) Further the teacher must avoid insult as well as flattery seeking the "golden mean" on every occasion. (5). Questioning also makes the teacher's advice very effective, because thus the pupils follow his words in a better mood and with interest. In addition, by letting them give answers we make them accept by themselves everything which otherwise the teacher has to say explicitly. Isidore, (6) in order to persuade the receiver of his letter of the value of questioning refers to Christ taking as an example the parable of the vine-growers (Mark 12, 1-9).

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- (1) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his daughter", in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. V, p. 64.
 - (2) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc.", 102, in Migne P.G. 136, 492.
 - (3) Isid. Pelus.: Letters, V, 330 (to Marcianus) in Migne P.G. 78, 1525-28.
 - (4) Is. Pelus.: Letters, III, 301 (to Archontius) "... the same verb, and the same mount and the same argument when pronounced with a different accent may sound like the product of anger rather than reasoning." in Migne P.G. 78, 973.
 - (5) Is. Pelus.: Letters, III, 121 (to Eutonius) in Migne P.G. 78, 824.
 - (6) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 375 (to Paul) in Migne P.G. 78, 1552.

Admonition must be used, since the teacher's task is not to please his pupils but lead them away from what they want and lead them towards what is fitting. (1) However the Byzantine educators did not approve its misuse. They had a maxim: "Use admonition twice or thrice, but then rebuke." (2)

Another means - the most effective of all perhaps - of leading a growing human being to improvement and perfection was good example, the unlimited use of which the Byzantine educationists recommended. Isidore Polusiotes, writing to a teacher of encyclical paideia, urges him to offer himself an example if he wishes to exercise actual education on his disciples, which after all ought to be his chief purpose as a teacher: "Having in mind that you are a teacher of manners rather than words show your pupils your own life as a model 'character', for it is not so much our speech as our living example that leads to virtue." (3) This advice could be given to any practising teacher by all Byzantine educators. (4)-.

About the educative value and the power and the good effect of good examples enough has been said on previous pages. (5)

Another equally effective means was the teacher's love for his pupils, about which we also have said enough above. (6) Before closing this chapter let me add some notes about rewards and punishment, for they are also important for the education of youth and of childhood, according to Byzantine educationists.

To secure desirable behaviour we need to facilitate its occurrence. Thus we succeed in implanting merits and leading young persons to a virtuous life. Rewards do help us in this, provided that we make good use of them. The usefulness of praise is rightly noticed by St. John Chrysostom:

(1) Is. Polus.: Letters, V, 286 (to Zenon) in Migne P.G. 78, 1504.

(2) See "Typikon of the Monastery of Archangel Michael of the Mount Auxentius", (to the monks), edited by M. Gedeon, Athens, 1895, p. 34.

(3) Is. Polus.: Letters, V, 348 (to Harpocras) in Migne P.G. 78, 1537.

(4) Dio (whose other name Antonius does not mention) ap. Antonius Melissa II, 1, in Migne P.G. 136, 1005.

(5) See above pp. 39-40.

(6) See above pp. 40-42.

"praise for achievements makes the desire for betterment stronger than do the achievements themselves." (1) As a matter of fact we all know, from our own experience, how praise reinforces our will to go on with our work to make ourselves better. Here is another piece of advice by St. John which every teacher must apply in practice: "it is absurd to accuse those who are idle and not to praise them when they succeed in doing something good." (2) And this should be done not only by the teacher but also by the parents. (3)

In using rewards, however, we need to be careful. First, it is of the utmost importance, Theodoretus says, that praise should correspond with the value of an action and the truth, because in adverse cases it leads to boasting. (4) What is more important, however, is that "praise can often injure man. For it blunts enthusiasm and so spoils the race. When a man thinks that he has the end of the course in his grasp (and this is what praise suggests), he stops running and loses the victory." (5) Highly valuable, too, is Photius' suggestion as to how to give praise: "Praise the virtues, but do not admire your pupils in their presence for seeking them. The former has the effect of encouragement, the latter of flattery, and is wont to cause those admired to boast and slacken their efforts towards virtue." (6) At any rate the teacher must not avoid praise since it makes pupils more eager when it is given. (7) Eustathius of Thessalonica is also in favour of rewards provided that the teacher applies the "golden mean". He accuses, for instance, those teachers who know no other way to give instruction than to praise. The reason is simple: pupils do make mistakes, because they are children and, therefore, the teacher has to "reproach them when they are doing wrong" (8), in order to guide them to the path of virtue.

(1) St. J. Chrys.: ap. Antonius Melissa I, 51, in Migne P.G. 136, 937.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: "The Complete Works", vol. II, p. 182.

(3) Synesius ap. Antonius Melissa I, 9, in Migne P.G. 136, 1044.

(4) Theodoretus ap. Antonius Melissa I 51, in Migne P.G. 136, 937

(5) Theodoretus Ibid. pp. 937-40.

(6) Photius: Letters, I, 47 (to Theoctistus), in Migne P.G. 102, 864-65.

(7) St. J. Chrys.: "The Complete Works", vol. 17, p. 42.

(8) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc." 65, in Migne P.G. 136, 465 A.

With this last remark we enter another field, namely that of punishment. The topic of punishment caused much discussion among the Byzantines. It is certain that they imposed cruel penalties to those who erred, children and adults alike. From the evidence existing it seems that punishment was one of the most frequently used means of correction in Byzantine schools. It was intended to lead to the improvement of the pupil's conduct and school attainment. A Church personality, Macarius, addressing himself to the abbots of the monasteries informs us why punishment was used in schools: "Just as school-masters," he says, "for the sake of the lessons, or to impart good character, often do not spare their own masters (1) but teach them with whipping, showing them much goodwill and zeal, in the hope that they may become wise and distinguished in the world, so ..." (2)

The use of punishment for these purposes was recognised long before the Byzantines, even in the Old Testament. In Proverbs 13,14, for instance, one reads: "He that spareth his rod hateth his son", or again, in Proverbs 23, 13: "Withhold not correction from the child for if thou beat him with the rod, he shall not die; but thou shall save his soul." The Ancient Greeks and Romans used punishment - especially corporal punishment. One of the tasks of the *καὶδουρίβης* "and the "paedagogue" was to chastise the delinquent pupil. With the New Testament, however, we are in a different world. The general spirit of the teaching of Jesus and Paul was one of love and forgiveness, and Paul specifically recommends parents to treat their children mildly. (3) Byzantine teachers, however, despite the preaching of the Gospel and of the Apostles did apply punishment in the spirit of the Old Testament. Even St. Basil, the great friend and acute psychologist of childhood and youth, refers to the Old Testament to justify the use of corporal punishment in the schools. (4) Other writers also approve its use as we shall see in some of their quotations below. Since God punishes human beings for their misdeeds, fathers and teachers should do so if necessary, for they have a duty of partly re-

(1) Macarius means here the sons of their masters when children.

(2) W. Jaeger: "Two Rediscovered Works etc." p. 259.

(3) See Eph. 6, 4; Col. 3, 21.

(4) St. Basil: Speech 12, "On the Proverbs", 5, in Migne P.G. 31, 396.

presenting God to the child, but also a duty to God, to "nurture the child in the education and admonition of God." (1) On such arguments the Byzantine educators based the use of punishment in teaching and guiding.

What was unfortunate at any rate was not so much the use of punishment as the misuse of corporal punishment, especially in schools. Byzantines must be blamed for this, of course, regardless of their belief that it seemed to be effective. St. Basil's description of the common view held by teachers and parents of his day shows it clearly: "For, just as small boys who neglect their lessons become more attentive and accept what is taught them after the whippings which the masters or paedagogues inflict on them, and the very words which were not hearkened to before and retained by the memory after the pain of the whippings, as if the ears had just been opened ... " (2)

Later Byzantine writers also assure us that corporal punishment in various forms was widely used. Michael Psellus, for instance, says that his daughter herself, being a good pupil, needed none of the punishments, such as "fear, mild threats and the whip", by which her school-mates were drawn to learning. (3) The patriarch Germanus II, also, gives us an indication about the use of corporal punishment in cases of erring or misbehaving children. (4) Eustathius of Thessalonica adds another piece of evidence, which is interesting from the psychological standpoint, too: "School-children retain a memory of maltreatment (i.e. of corporal punishment) and are improved by this memory, led by maltreatment experienced once for all not to sin again." (5)

No matter how effective punishment may be, the teacher was advised to be reluctant to use it: "Do not be harsh in rebuke", St. Basil says,

(1) St. J. Chrys.: Speech 27 "On the Education of Children", in Migne P.G. 63, §65.

(2) St. Basil: Speech 12, "On the Proverbs, 5, in Migne P.G. 31, 396 B-C.

(3) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his daughter", in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. V, pp. 65-66.

(4) Germanus II, in Lagopatis S.H.: "Germanus II etc." III, speech 3, pp. 226-27.

(5) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc.", 61, in Migne P.G. 136, 461.

"correcting neither hastily nor passionately (for that is rash) and not condemning for small faults, but be yourself scrupulously just. Try to find out those in fault and order them spiritually, as the Apostle advises..." (1) St. Dorotheos, in addition, gives a psychological reason for this: "Do not censure the learners continually. For that is burdensome, and familiarity with censure leads to insensitivity and contempt?" (2) What he says about censure we can extend to all kinds of punishments, of course. Photius, centuries later, recommends the same attitude when he says: "Be keen in giving comfort to those who suffer injustice, but be slow to punish the sinful." (3)

It is worth mentioning here that the Byzantine educators looked at the Problem of punishment in schools from a practical point of view, too. In fact they have many practical and useful suggestions to offer to the practising teacher. Thus St. Basil advises the abbots of the monasteries running schools of the "sacred letters" to look for a teacher who will "be forbearing so that the faults of the young are checked with fatherly mercy and scientific reasoning, and apply the proper treatment to each fault, so that the rebuking of the mistake becomes at the same time a training in discipline." (4) The first thing for the teacher is to be tolerant and able to correct the children's mistakes with "scientific reasoning", namely with deep psychological knowledge, in order to impose on every occasion the proper punishment. Elsewhere St. Basil, giving additional advice, stresses the need for examination of each case separately, and especially the motives leading to the fault, so that the punishment fits the crime. (5)

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- (1) St. Basil: Speech 20 "On Humility", 7, in Migne P.G. 31, 537; also St. Basil: "On the Hex." VIII, 4, in Migne P.G. 29, 173: "It is one of the unwritten laws of nature, that those who are raised to high office, ought to be slow to punish."; see also Nic. Blemmydes: "What a king should be like", 4, in Migne P.G. 142, 624.
- (2) St. Dorotheos: "Helpful Teachings", 17, in Migne P.G. 88, 1800.
- (3) Photius' Letters, edited by John K. Balettas, Part I, Letter 6 (to Michael, prince of Bulgaria), 54, pp. 235-36.
- (4) St. Basil: "The Longer Rules" XV, 2, in Migne P.G. 31, 953 B.
- (5) St. Basil: "The Shorter Rules", 82, in Migne P.G. 31, 1141 B; also Nic. Blemmydes: "What a king should be like", 4, in Migne P.G. 142, 624.

Byzantine educators draw our attention to the teacher's personality on this matter, because they think that upon the teacher's authority any good result on matters of habit and character formation is dependent. "If rebuke is a doctoring of the soul", which has done wrong, St. Basil says, "it is not every man's duty to rebuke, as it is not every man's to heal diseases, unless the supervisor" "of the monastery "entrusts this to someone after he has carefully been tested" as to merits, good character and experience in human behaviour in general. (1) Elsewhere, stressing the importance of personality in education, St. Basil says: "...it is more desirable to receive a wise man's rebuke than to listen to a whole chorus of wicked men singing one's praises." (2) Eustathius of Thessalonica bases the guiding of children on the teacher's personality and skillfulness and adds that the good teacher should not hesitate to employ unpleasant treatment, such as abuse, threat of ill-treatment, looking at them sideways with the implication of rebuke, etc. "Teachers who are all sweetness are no use" he says. "A mixture of bitterness and sweetness will bring good results"(3) In addition he ought to pay attention to his tone of voice, his demeanour and gestures. He should change demeanour or tone of voice according to the individual in hand. (4) Talking about the treatment of faults, Isidore Pelusiotes says: "With regard to small faults if sinners improve of their own accord we must pretend that we did not even notice the faults. But if they become worse, after check and mildly reproving them we should grant forgiveness. In the case of great faults we should husband our forgiveness, chastening the guilty by segregation and rebuke until they repent, and then concede it." (5) Forgiveness, therefore, was considered a useful means of correcting an educant's misbehaviour provided that it was properly used.

Lastly this is St. John Chrysostom's advice to the parent, and naturally to the teacher, on the same topic: "Treat your son not always with blows, nor accustom thyself so as to chastise him; for if thou art used to correct him every day, he will soon learn to despise it; and once he has learned to do so, it utterly mars all; rather cause him always to fear the rod, not always to feel it; shake indeed the whip but touch him not with it

(1) St. Basil: "The Longer Rules", LIII, in Migne P.G. 31, 1044 A.

(2) St. Basil ap. Antonius Melissa II, 78, in Migne P.G. 136, 1196.

(3) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc." 102, in Migne P.G. 136, 292. B.

(4) Eust. Thess.: "In praise of Manuel Comnenus", 26, in Migne P.G. 135, 992A

(5) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 296(to Alphius), in Migne P.G. 78, 1509.

neither from threats proceed to the work; but let him not know that your words are only menaces; for then threatenings are only proper, when children believe they will proceed to deeds: for if the offender once understand this economy, he will soon contemn it: let him therefore expect to be chastised, but yet let him not be chastised, lest it extinguish his reverence... And when once you perceive that you have gained any fruit by fear, remit a little, for there is due even to our very natures some relaxation." (1) No doubt there are points of disagreement with St. John here, such as the role of fear, but we must not fail to appreciate the very fact that he took the problem of discipline and education seriously both from a theoretical and a practical point of view. Studying his treatises "How Parents Should Educate their Children" and "On the Education of Children" (2), for instance, we see that every suggestion he offers is based on sound argument. This is probably why John Evelyn, the translator of the former treatise (1658) named it "The Golden Book of St. John Chrysostom Concerning the Education of Children." (3) The Byzantine Church also faced officially the problem of punishment by taking measures against those teachers who were cruel and used to punish their pupils with fury and anger. (4)

Closing the discussion of the first part of this work we note once more what we said at the beginning about the influence of the Great Fathers' ideas on the Byzantines, on matters concerning the education of childhood and youth. Especially as regards their ideas on how to form good habits and good character in the pupils they were followed by many great Byzantine teachers in theory as well as in practice. (5)

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc.", 30.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: Speech 27, in Migne P.G. 63, 763-71.

(3) See William Upcott: "The Miscellaneous Writings of John Evelyn," London 1825, pp. 113-37.

(5) Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc." 65, in Migne P.G. 136, 465.

(4) Theodore Balsamon: Interpretation in Synodic Canons: Canon 9 of A-B Council at Constantinople, in Migne P.G. 137, 1049-52; see also Theodore of Studium: "Punishments", 96, in Migne P.G. 99, 1745.

P A R T II

BYZANTINE EDUCATION - PRACTICE

CHAPTER I

THE ROLE OF THE PEOPLE, THE STATE AND THE CHURCH IN BYZANTINE EDUCATION

From what has been said above we realise that many forces played their part in the Byzantine education, producing more or less satisfactory results. Among the most important we count the people - as parents, as private teachers and as individuals -, the State and the Church - including both the clergy and the monks.

In fact education in Byzantium was the concern of all - People, State, Church - except in so far as these three parties were not all equally interested in all the stages of schooling. While the People had an interest throughout, the State was interested in higher profane education, and the Church in elementary education, some branches of profane learning and in theology. Nevertheless, all the efforts made by each of these parties in education had in view one and the same purpose: the splendour of the Byzantine Empire and the triumph of the Orthodox Church. With this in mind, I hope to show the contribution of these groups to education.

1. THE BYZANTINE PEOPLE

The Byzantine people either as parents or guardians, or as pupils, students, or learned men were highly interested in their children's as well as their own education. S. Runciman is certainly right in saying that "a good education was the ideal of every Byzantine. Lack of mental training (*apaedeusia*) was considered a misfortune and disadvantage and almost a crime". (1) J.B. Eury was also right when he had said before Runciman that in Byzantium anyone who could afford it, had his children educated. (2) All parents, independently of their social class, had and kept during the whole Byzantine period the right to educate their children

(1) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 223.

(2) Quoted by C. Buckler in Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VII on Byzantine Education, p. 200.

as they wished, provided that they could afford it or they were able to teach their children themselves. In fact from the first centuries of the Byzantine period we see many parents engaged in the instruction of their children (1) or sending them to schools of elementary and of secondary education. Well-to-do parents could take private teachers at home. The father of St. John of Damascus, for example, willingly accepted a learned prisoner as a regular member of his family for the sake of his son's education. (2) The majority of parents, however, used to send their children to the schools and to urge them to go on with their studies. As an example of the latter case we may cite Theodore Prodromus' father. (3)

Other parents also used to send their sons to another town or to the capital to complete their studies under good teachers. Such was the case with John Xiphilinus (11th century), (4) Michael Acominatus and his brother Nicetas, (5) the son of a friend of Maximus Planudes, (6) and others.

Parental interest in the education of youth, however, was not confined to the narrow circle of the family; it extended to the broader circle of the child's relatives and the family's friends, especially in the case of orphans or children whose parents were poor. Examples are furnished by Michael Psellus' family, (7) by Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who concerned himself with his orphan nephews' education (11th century), (8) and by bishop John of Heracleia in Pontus, who taught the elements of reading writing and counting to his nephew Nicephorus Gregoras. (9)

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- (1) J. Hussey: "Church and Learning in the B.E." pp. 43, 45; see also in the section of the present work on pre-school and elementary education.
- (2) Life of St. John of Damascus, 8-12, in Migne P.G. 94, 440 ff.
- (3) K. Sathas: B.G.M., vol. I, p. 101; for the quotation see above p. 27.
- (4) M. Psellus: "In praise of Xiphilinus" in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, p. 426.
- (5) M. Choniates: "In praise of his brother Nicetas" in E. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." 7, vol. I, p. 347.
- (6) D. Balanos: "The Byzantine Ecclesiastical Writers," 56, p. 140.
- (7) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 12.
- (8) M. Psellus: "In praise of Cerularius" in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, p. 351-2.
- (9) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 128, vol. I, pp. 592-93.

Secondary education was mostly provided by private teachers. To these teachers, then, those who wished to educate their children had to turn. (1) These teachers kept schools not only in Constantinople but also in other provincial centres of learning and sometimes in small towns. Private teachers were always found in Byzantium with the result that private education always existed there side by side with the public or ecclesiastical "encyclios paedeia". (2) Some of these private teachers were not very well educated, (3) while others used to go on with their self-education. Among the latter were those who, owing to their intelligence and efforts, became excellent teachers, famous in the history of Byzantine Education.

In moments of partial or total neglect of public secular education the study of profane learning was carried on in houses and basements belonging to private teachers. During the so called "dark" period between 650-850 A.D. it was the private teachers who mainly provided education for the ambitious and education-loving youth who produced the best of the circle of learned men and supplied the fighting Orthodox Church with such strong fighters as Theodore of Studium and the Patriarch Nicephorus. (4) Again, it was the private school of John Mauropus in Constantinople which educated the most eminent of the learned men of the first half of the 11th century, viz. Nicetas of Byzantium, Michael Psellus, John Xiphilinus, and others. Michael Psellus, speaks of the considerable number of learned men of this period, and add that the "learned men of his day thought of letters not as a means for making their fortune, but rather as indispensable spiritual food and a modest ornament of the reign." (5)

On the other hand, whenever the State needed good public teachers for its higher institutions, it was from the stock of the private Byzantine teachers that it had to select and appoint the best to fill university

(1) See G. Euckler in Baynes and Moss, : "Byzantium", ch. VII on "Byzantine Education", p. 218.

(2) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 225.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 313 (15), vol. II, pp. 714-15.

(4) S. Runciman: Ibid.

(5) M. Psellus in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. IV, Preface, p. XLVI.

chairs and so on. From the persons selected whose names we know, we gather that there always existed excellent private teachers in Byzantium.

In summing up, it can be said that Byzantine parents and private teachers played an important role in the education of youth. But it must also be said that young men, too, greatly contributed first to their own education as students, and later to the promotion of learning in Byzantium. It was a very common practice in Byzantium for a person who devoted himself to learning not to stop studying - The Bible, the works of the Fathers or the Greek Classics. Through such continuous study, lasting for years, one was able to achieve an all-round education for oneself. Such persons set very high value on the spiritual treasures of the past - Greek and Christian - and in this past they tried to find the key to their humane education and actions in life. There is no doubt that in order to understand the content of the works studied they had to know the language pretty well, and also to have a sound background of general knowledge, which they received in the schools of Grammar and Rhetoric. But once they had mastered the language any further effort for education would become an entirely personal matter. They would go on with their education under able teachers if they wished; in most cases, however, they referred straight to the texts - i.e. to accepted Greek and Christian writers and their ideas - without any further help from outside. (1) Metrochites' case is very characteristic; after receiving elementary instruction in astronomy from his teacher Bryonius, he continued to study by himself and achieved such perfection that he became later one of the most famous teachers on the subject. (2) In this connection we may refer to Maximus Planudes, also, who taught himself Latin. (3) In other cases again it is known that students completed their education in co-operation with fellow-students, e.g. St. Basil and St. Gregory (4th century) (4) or, later, Psellus and Xiphilinus (11th century) (5).

(1) K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 189, vol. II, pp. 97-8.

(2) K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. I, p. κ'; Cantacuzenus: Histories I, 11, p. 55.

(3) K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 223 (3), vol. II, p. 274.

(4) St. Greg. Naz.: Letter 6 (to Basil), in Migne P.G. 37, 29 ff.

(5) M. Psellus: "In praise of Xiphilinus" in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, p. 427.

Thus arose endless array of learned Byzantines, many of whom found service with the State or the Church, while a considerable number of the others remained far away from such services, silently working and building up along with the others the glory of the Empire. Thanks to all of them the spiritual heritage of classical antiquity as well as the spiritual production of Christian Byzantium has come to us - a double heritage to which Modern Greece owes its existence as well as its glory.

2. THE STATE

Nevertheless, we must state from the beginning that no matter how much the Byzantines as individuals - parents, teachers, pupils, learned men - were interested in education the practical results of their efforts would have been very poor if the State and the Church had not encouraged them. Without the practical interest of both the State and the Church in schools of various stages, in finding teachers, etc., and without a real orientation of education on the lines of Greco-Christian culture imposed and supported by the Church and the State we should have found not only fewer educated men but also less well educated men in Byzantium.

It is true that a spirit of Greco-Christian paideia had pervaded in Byzantium, a good start having been made in the Palace. The fact that almost all the Emperors did their best to provide their royal children of both sexes with an education basically Christian and yet at the same time Greek makes a deep and satisfying impression. To this end they entrusted their children to the hands of able and well-known teachers. (1)

But the Emperors' interest was not exhausted only by the finding good teachers for their children or their close relatives. Many of them found the time to follow step by step the bringing up and instruction of their sons, (2) while other addressed advice, aphorisms, etc. to them when they were still children or adolescents. Reference was made above to Basil I's letter "on education" to his son Leo. (3) Also worth mentioning here is

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- (1) Zonaras J.: "Epitomae Historiarum, XIII 12 (15-23), vol. III, pp. 92 ff (Bonn); Theoph. Simocattes: "Histories", VIII 8, p. 329 (Bonn); Theophanes Continuatus, V 89, pp. 333-34 (Bonn); G. Acropolites: "Annals" 53, in Migne P.G. 140, 1121; Nic. Gregoras VI 4, vol. I, p. 178 (Bonn); ~~also~~ also G. Duckler: "Anna Comnena", p. 184; G. Cedrenus: Synopsis of Histories, 573 (Bonn)
- (2) Zonaras J.: "Epitomae Historiarum" XIII 19, vol. III, pp. 92 ff (Bonn).
- (3) See above pp. 26-7.

the advice of Manuel II (1391-1425) to his son (1) and the notes which Matthew Cantacuzenus wrote for his daughter about $\psi : \lambda \circ \mu \acute{\alpha} \theta \epsilon : \alpha$ - love of learning while he was in a hermitage.

The majority of the Byzantine Emperors also showed an interest in their subjects' education, in letters, and in learned men. Constantine the Great, the founder of Constantinople (died 337), in his wish to elevate the capital into an important centre of letters, established a higher institution and a library, (2) for its needs. After him Julian (r. 361-64) built a huge library, (3) which he enriched with books, too. Valens (364-78) increased the number of University chairs and appointed six bibliographers for the regular transcription of Greek and Latin books, for the library. (4) Later Theodosius II reorganised the $\Pi \alpha \nu \delta : \delta \alpha \kappa \tau \acute{\eta} \rho : \iota \circ \nu$ - higher institution for letters - (5) and further increased the number of University chairs. Justinian I (527-65), too, showed interest in higher education. We know that he organised the schools of Law, and took special interest in the School of Law at Constantinople; on the other hand, he closed the philosophical schools of Athens, chiefly because they propagated pagan teaching, and ordered that all teachers should be Christians. The action of closing these schools has been bitterly criticised by classical scholars. In my opinion Justinian came to this decision in an effort to orientate the higher studies towards the ideals of Christian culture and education, which the Byzantine people as a whole had already accepted. Yet the teaching of philosophy in these schools during the sixth century was rather poor in content and, therefore, philosophy did not suffer as much as some critics would suggest. (6)

Later on Heraclius (610-41) in co-operation with the Church took an interest in studies. This is not surprising, because the christianisation of the Empire was completed during the seventh century and, therefore,

(1) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 210, vol. II, pp. 165-66.

(2) Zosimus III 11, p. 140 (Bonn).

(3) H. J. Gedeon: "The care of the Church for Libraries" in the magazine "ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ" (Ecclesiastical Truth), vol. 25, p. 236, Constantinople (1905).

(4) See Codex Theodosianus, XIV 9, 3; A.A. Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", p. 133; also S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", p. 224.

(5) K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 181, vol. II, p. 45 ff.; also Ferd. Gregorobius: 'Αθηναίς, pp. 16, 20-26.

(6) G. Cedrenus: Synopsis of Histories, p. 616 (Bonn). He refers to the riot of Basiliscus, when the public library containing 120,000 volumes was burnt.

the State's co-operation with the Church in educational matters might well be expected. Thus, the new higher school, known as the "Oecumenical School" (: "School of the Patriarch" at Constantinople) fell from the start of its function into the hands of and was supervised by the Church. The Church from now on supplied through this school both religious and secular education - including some branches of the seven Liberal Arts. The professors of this school were highly honoured men employed as counsellors of the Emperors "without whom the Emperors did not pronounce a counsel or opinion", (1) as well as of the Church officials.

During the Iconoclastic period (726-780 and 813-843) this school fell to decay - and perhaps ceased to exist for a period - because of the deep disagreement between the Emperors and its professors - expressing the policy of the Orthodox Church -, with the far-reaching result of the neglect of higher secular studies. On the other hand, these Emperors showed a great interest in elementary education. They tried to take the schools of primary education out of the hands of the Church, supervised the teachers, published new text-books, etc. (2) At the end of the iconoclastic period, however, caesar Bardas and the Emperor Theophilus (829-842) did their best to restore higher studies in Constantinople. Schools of higher education depending directly on the State started to function, as we gather from many Byzantine writers. (3)

From the 9th century onwards with very few exceptions there is a continual and increasing interest on the part of the Emperors in higher education. Thus Constantine VI Porphyrogenitus showed an interest in higher educators - as professors, whom he made his regular table companions. (4) The graduates of the school were to be employed, according to the Emperor's act, in higher State and Church posts. He showed great zeal for the education of his subjects, manifested in many ways. It was during his reign that many encyclopaedias, anthologies, collections and other books were composed in simple form so as to be easily studied by everyone.

(1) George Hamartolus Chronicon IV 24 (13), in Migne P.G. 110, 921.

(2) S. Payiatakis: "The educational reform attempted by the Iconoclastic Emperors" in magazine ΕΧΘΑΕΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΗ ("School and Life") (Athens) Nos 7,8,10 vol. 1953 and Nos 1,2 vol. 1954.

(3) Theophanes Continuatus IV 27, 29, pp. 189, 192 (Bonn); Symeon Magister: "Annals" 20, in Migne P.G. 109, 701.

(4) Theophanes Continuatus VI 14, p. 446 (Bonn).

Some decades later, Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) made a very remarkable attempt to improve the organisation of the State University. He organised two schools, one of Philosophy under Michael Psellus, and another of Law under Xiphilinus. (1) The Constitution or Ν ε α ρ á of the School of Law, which was discovered at the end of the 19th century, is considered a unique document in the history of Universities. In it one sees how wise and lofty were the thoughts of the Emperor and his advisor John Mauropus with regard to higher education and the purpose of a University in a period quite remote from our own. It reminds us of what A. Whitehead says about the function of Universities in his interesting book "Aims of Education and Other Essays" (pp. 136-152). During this period Constantinople became a universal centre for higher studies and many men from abroad came to study under its famous professors, like Michael Psellus. (2) Unfortunately some years later these schools fell into decay and Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) had to take further special measures for higher studies. (3) In fact he tried to give to higher education a Christian colouring. He not only allowed an important place to be given to the study of sacred books but also he supervised higher education in the capital. (4) Alexius also showed special interest in the elementary and encyclical paedeia of the orphans in the State Orphanage he built. (5) It should be noted, in passing, that this school was working before Alexius I, too, (6) and after his death in later periods. (7) This fact alone proves that other Emperors, too, showed an interest in the elementary education and lower encyclical paedeia, though a limited one.

During the Frankish domination of Constantinople the difficulties of obtaining learning became more and more great in most parts of the Empire. (8) In Nicaea, however, the capital of the Empire of Nicaea,

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- (1) M. Psellus: "In praise of Xiphilinus in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. IV, pp. 433-34; M. Attaliotes p. 265 (Bonn).
 (2) M. Psellus: "On Constantine's (Monomachus) advent to the throne" in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. IV, p. 123; also M. Psellus: Letters, 198, 207 Ibid, vol. V, pp. 491, 508.
 (3) Anna Comnena: "Alexiad" V 9, 4, vol. I, p. 265 (Bonn).
 (4) Anna Comnena: Ibid. VI 7, vol. I, pp. 291-92 (Bonn).
 (5) Anna Comnena: Ibid. XV, 7, vol. II, pp. 345 ff. 349 ff. (Bonn).
 (6) Const. Porphyrogenitus: "On the Ceremonies" II, 52, vol. I, pp. 755-57 (Bonn); Theod. Prodromus: Epistolae, 7, 8, in Migne PG. 133, 1258, 1268, 1275
 (7) G. Pachymeres: "On Michael Palaeologos IV 14, vol. I, p. 284 (Bonn).
 (8) M. Choniates: Letters, 145 (to Demetrius) and 146 (to Theodora) in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." vol. II, pp. 193, 297-98.

due to the personal interest of its Emperors in education, there existed plenty of schools of elementary and lower encyclical *paideia* with teachers experts in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric. (1) In regard to philosophy we have an interval of flourishing only when Nic. Blemmydes was teaching there. (2) These Emperors took care not only to secure good teachers and good collections of books, but also to attract poor young men to study by supporting them financially. (3)

With the restoration of the Empire in its old Capital (1261) and till its final fall (1453) the interest of the Emperors in encyclical *paideia* was not only sustained but reached great heights in some branches of knowledge - namely the philological and mathematical studies. (4) Thanks to the Emperor's interest Constantinople became once more a considerable centre of letters. As an immediate result of this during the 14th and 15th centuries many foreigners came to Constantinople to study Greek and the classics. This does not refer to Byzantines, like Gregoras, for instance, who came to the capital for the same reason. (5) In addition, the Emperors of the Dynasty of the Palaeologi protected learned men, took care of school buildings and the appointment of public teachers for a systematic instruction in the language, and atticism had become the fashion of the day.

Before leaving this topic it is necessary to discuss two further points: first, why the Emperors were especially interested in higher secular education, and secondly, why, despite this warm interest, higher secular education suffered so many blows and so much neglect at various times.

Let us see then what the reasons were for the Emperors' interest in higher education. As regards the former point many Emperors supported higher education for the sake of the glory of their Empire in the first

(1) G. Acropolites: "Annals" 32, in Migne P.G. 140, 1056; Gregory of Cyprus "Particularis historiae sermo re suas continens" in Migne P.G. 142, 24. See also K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 202, vol. II, p. 138.

(2) G. Acropolites: Ibid.

(3) G. Acropolites: Ibid.

(4) Cantacuzenus I 12, vol. I, p. 55 (Bonn); G. Pachymeres "On Michael Palaeologos" IV 14, vol. I, pp. 282-84 (Bonn); for details on mathematical studies see chapter on Quadrivium below.

(5) Philotheos patriarch, "Antirrhet" in Nic. Gregoras: Elogia, IV, I, p. LXVIII (Bonn).

place, especially of the capital. Constantine the Great and Theophilus (1) may serve as examples of this here. In the second place, other Emperors aimed at practical ends, viz. the preparation of able men for the highest State and Church posts. Characteristic is the example of Constantine IX Monomachus of whom Michael Psellus writes: "This Emperor thought that those in authority and those who get near to the altar ought not to be advanced according to birth, and that the Senate and public offices and places concerned with laws and decrees ought not to be filled from the foremost families only, but also from the other part of society, if any persons from that part seemed to be of good repute for this work, and more suitable than the others." (2) To my mind this act is very remarkable. Byzantine monarch could abandon the exclusive use of the members of aristocracy for the State services. He acted in a democratic way as it were, looking to the actual benefit of the State, in the very heart of the Middle Ages! Constantine IX was not the only one who did this. Andronicus II also (1282-1328) appointed Theodore Metochites to the post of Prime Minister. Lastly, other Emperors motivated by their zeal for letters supported higher education apart from other aims, as for example the prestige and welfare of the Empire. Of this good examples are Julian (361-363), caesar Bardas (first half of 9th century), Constantine VII (912-959), Nicophorus Botaniates (11th century) who "devoting himself to books and reading, made himself very learned and initiated in things both divine and human", (3) Theodore Laskaris (13th century) of Nicaea whose " (4) stand as an example of erudition and interest in letters, Manuel Palaeologos (1391-1425) of whom Krumbacher has spoken so flatteringly (5), and many others.

In regard to the second point, namely why, despite the Emperors' interest in higher learning there are also periods of decline, I refer to some Emperors who were not interested in education. Among them were

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- (1) Theophanes Continuatus IV, 27, p. 190 (Bonn); Symeon Magister: "Annals" 20, in Migne P.G. 109, 701.
 - (2) M. Psellus: "In praise of Xiphilinus" in K. Sathas B.G.H., V, pp. 430-31.
 - (3) M. Attaliates, p. 312 (Bonn).
 - (4) Theodore Laskaris: "De Communionis Naturali" Speeches six, in Migne P.G. 140, 1267 ff.
 - (5) K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 210, vol. II, pp. 163-67.

Phocas (602-610), who closed the State University, Michael II (811-813)(1) and Basil II (963-1025), who openly showed his antipathy towards learned men, possibly because of his preference for military men, which was the urgent need of his days. The main reason for the decline of higher State institutions of learning was that the Empire lived in an almost continuous state of struggle against its various enemies, and the Emperors had to turn their interest to a sound military organisation in order to face danger coming from wars or invasions, even at the expense of education. I do not think any critic of good will would blame those Emperors who in such difficult times put into practice that very old axiom: "Primum vivere deinde philosophare."

3. THE CHURCH

The Byzantine Church also played a leading role in the education of Byzantines, and of Christians belonging to other nations. The Greek Orthodox Church became one of the fundamental pillars on which Byzantium was based as a State and as an important cultural centre in the Middle Ages. Without it Byzantine history and culture would be meaningless and so would Byzantine Education. For in one way or another the Church was behind every spiritual, social, cultural and even political activity within the Empire. H. Baynes says truly that the Orthodox Church offered many important services; because it "came very near to the people of the East Rome. It lived among them, it nerved their patriotism, it became the focus of national life" and thus "became the soul and life of the Empire". (2)

In Byzantium Church and State were in very close co-operation. The Emperor always took an active part in religious matters; and the head of the Church often called on him to interfere. The Patriarchs, too, had a word to say on cultural, spiritual and educational problems. It is true, of course, that the Emperor remained throughout the supreme and sole regulator of everything, (3) that he directed the policy of the Church and raised and deposed Patriarchs and bishops. (4) It is also true, however,

(1) Theophanes Continuatus II 8, p. 49 (Dann).

(2) H. Baynes: "The Byzantine Empire, London 1946, p. 98; similar views also in K. Dieterich: "Hellenism in Asia Minor", New York 1918, p. 44.

(4) See P. Fulvian: Εξέσεις Πολιτείας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας - "Relations between State and Church" - Athens 1946, p. 53 ff.

(3) E. K. Hosnolings: "Byzantium and Byzantine Civilisation", pp. 29-30.

S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. III, p. 61.

that in quite a number of cases the Patriarchs succeeded in imposing upon the Emperor their views on matters concerning State education, as, for instance, in the case of Xiphilinus, who managed to neutralise the efforts towards a complete return to humanistic studies of the school of philosophy directed by Michael Psellus.

Doubtless the chief contribution of the Church to Byzantine Education is to be seen in the ideological orientation which it gave to the education as we have already seen. The Church Fathers never stopped exhorting parents to educate their children in a Christian way "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord", as "athletes of Christ" (1) And the Church respecting the views of its Great Fathers, considered it its duty to take care of the elementary education of its members, by providing rooms for schools and teachers for the instruction of the faithful in "sacred letters". This contribution of the Church was both considerable and effective. We have enough evidence of the existence of schools of this type in towns, villages and so on. It would be meaningless and wasteful of space to enumerate all such schools, ⁽²⁾ but from the examination of the reasons which necessitated the existence and keeping of these schools we hope we shall make it clear that their number must have always been considerable, and their functioning continuous.

First, we must bear in mind that with the spreading and the recognition of Christianity as the official religion of the B.E. enthusiastic worship started in the new and numerous churches. To provide for this worship there had to be clergymen - priest and deacons -, readers and chanters available apart from the congregation. And these persons had at least to be able to read, if nothing else, in order to be able to celebrate the Liturgy. In addition, every church had to have various liturgical books which had to be written by hand; the copyist had to know not only reading and writing but also calligraphy, a subject needing special instruction. Such books were necessary in monasteries, too. There were also libraries in these monasteries and in addition many private

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 19; St. Greg. Naz.: Letters, letter 239 (to Epiphanius) in Migne P.G. 37, 381; St. J. Chrys.: Speech 27 "On the education of children" in Migne P.G. 63, 766.

(2) Reference to some schools of this type is made below pp. 107-108.

libraries existed in the hands of clergymen (1) and many laymen. Books were also used by the various State services and the State also took care to secure up-to-date books for its needs and for the State libraries. From this we may infer that many men had to do the work of scribes. The custom of having "notarii" - νοταριοί, i.e. private secretaries of bishops and of Civil services - implies that elementary education was given to other persons as well. All these things imply that schools giving some kind of elementary education must have always been functioning in Byzantium, and because they mostly served religious needs we should expect them to be under the Church's protection. In fact we find many teachers, teaching their pupils either individually at home or more than one child in their houses used as schools. But the greater number of "grammatists", that is primary school teachers, were men of the Church: priests, deacons, readers and chanters.

The Church offered many services to profane learning also, lower and higher. The Orthodox Byzantine Church used to accept into its priesthood men who had a sound secular education. It was natural for these clergymen to be more or less kindly disposed towards secular learning and to support it on any occasion. Also many of those who had received an exclusively religious education in monasteries etc. favoured the lower stages of encyclical paideia, that is grammar mainly, and rhetoric. For the former helped them to master Greek in which all religious books were written and the latter gave them a means to become good teachers, since preaching was not only one of the obligations of clergymen and of bishops but a favourite occupation with them.

The Church showed its interest in the higher profane learning, too. In the Oecumenical school there was always room for the instruction of secular subjects. In some periods these subjects were taught as often as in the State University, so that this school was considered as its serious rival. There is no doubt that this took place probably during the twelfth century, when Eustathius, afterwards archbishop of Thessalonica, was teaching there. We can imagine the high quality of his teaching from his excellent commentary of Homer and Pindar. The Byzantine Church

(1) S. Kouyechas: "Arethas of Caesarea etc." III. pp. 97-138.

was tolerant and supported the *encycloia paideia* not only because many of its officials had received such an education, but also for other important reasons. We know, for example, that in Byzantium many laymen were in close and continuous contact with Greek philosophy and literature, and that they were all Orthodox Christians from birth. Was there not then danger of ideological conversion or apostasy from the Orthodox dogma for those who were studying such well written books? Who can assure us that the various heresies, which did produce so much harm to the Church and the Empire did not partly arise from this study as well? In fact the dogmas which prevailed were also based in part on the concepts of pagan philosophy. (1) The Church's first duty was to attend and admonish - whenever necessary - its learned members, (2) and to refute the heresies as they appeared. It was, therefore, necessary for any Church official to study in detail and deeply the Greek texts (3) and the works of his contemporaries written in attic or "common" Greek.

In order to minimize the danger arising out of the study of secular writers the Church did its best to consolidate a very deep faith in the hearts of all and especially of its young members. For this reason it turned its attention to the family, and elementary education. In the schools of "sacred letters" systematic religious instruction & if nothing else - was always given, an instruction later supplemented by regular church preaching⁽⁴⁾ and by the reading of various religious books and pamphlets.⁽⁵⁾ If the Church succeeded in this, then there would be no danger from any study of secular-pagan writers. Here, perhaps, we should ask why it left free choice to its members in matters concerning their *encycloia paideia*: it did so after it had armed them with its ideals. A concrete and persuasive example in this connection are the Great Fathers of fourth century, who received their "secular learning" under pagan teachers. Though in the secular schools of *encycloia paideia* no religious

(1) Pachomius: "On the usefulness of the Bible etc.": "... it is said that all leaders of heresies had a classical education", in Migne P.G. 98, 1356 D.

(2) M. Psellus: Letters, Letter 175 (to Xiphilinus) in K. Rathas B.G.H. vol. V, pp. 444 ff.

(3) Life of Nicophorus, patriarch of Constantinople, 14, in Migne P.G. 100, 56; Eust. Thess.: "De emendanda vita monastica" 143-147, in Migne PG 135, 842-52

(4) St. J. Chrys.: On John, 25, 1, in Migne P.G. 59, 147.

(5) See for details below chapter on Primary Education, pp. 406 ff.

instruction was given, every student - and, afterwards, every learned man - showed great interest in his own religious education as well; (1) for he knew that none of his compatriots, educated or illiterate, could ever forgive any apostasy from Orthodoxy. This knowledge was of foremost importance for defending himself on any occasion. Paellus' case might be mentioned here as a good example.

It has been said, however, that the Orthodox Church so acting was becoming an enemy to the profane learning. That the Church preferred Christian and divine wisdom to profane wisdom, and thought of the latter as auxiliary to the former, (2) does not mean that the Church actually persecuted the profane learning, or thought of it as an enemy. (3) What had led the Church to have reservations about secular learning was the fact that some of its advocates believed that Greek wisdom was a substitute for Christian teaching, and tried to propagate this belief among others. It was not just the study of the classics that the Church was opposed to, but the idea that it could form as it were a complete religious system, the model for a man's conduct in life and thought. Nevertheless, in Byzantium we have relatively few periods of intense reaction of the Church against the Hellenists. And these periods were usually ones when the patriarch's throne was occupied by men animated by the spirit of monasticism, or again, when a wave of heresies endangered the Orthodox faith or, if connected with politics, the security of the state. On the other hand, we must not forget that this was an era of predominantly religious interests when people became fanatical about religious matters and many objectionable actions took place, such as persecutions or killings, like that of Hypatia, the woman philosopher in Alexandria at the instigation of fanatical monks, or that of Paulinus (end of 6th century) put to death as a magician by order of John the patriarch of Constantinople. (4) But on the whole the Orthodox Church of Byzantium cannot be considered as an enemy of profane learning. (5)

(1) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 229.

(2) See above pp. 16 ff

(3) J. Hunzay: "Church and Learning in the B.E.", pp. 91-2.

(4) Theoph. Simocatta: "Historia" I 11, pp. 56-7 (Dann).

(5) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. V 'Religion and the Church', p. 130.

The Church's contribution to education does not stop here. It cultivated theological studies at an advanced level. It has already been said that the Church among other means used preaching to foster and sustain its members' faith. Instruction from the pulpit was not so simple or easy a task. The preacher of God's word had to be highly educated, a man who knew the deeper meaning of the Bible (1) as well as the works of the Fathers. While the Church made such demands, however, it had to provide its clergy with the means for their complete theological education. It ran special schools or seminaries at times in order to give a better theological preparation especially to those destined for the office of bishop. In the beginning, the Oecumenical School of Constantinople performed this function ideally during the whole period of its existence. The State also supported the Church on this point, because it was believed that such preparation was necessary to bishops especially "in order that they might become wise instructors and teachers of those in their care, and be firm champions of piety". (2) Apart from the Oecumenical School there seem to have been seminaries and teachers giving higher theological instruction in provincial centres and monasteries. For instance St. Gregory - while a reader at a church - is said to have charged the deacon of the town Agrigento (in Sicily) fully to introduce him in the Bible. (3) In this connection we must refer to the cases of those men, who by the help of their religious education alone became bishops and patriarchs. (4)

In addition, there always existed the possibility of further self-education for every anxious to learn religious man, through the study of famous Church Fathers. These Fathers and other writers had composed sayings and treatises on many controversial and basic religious and theological matters and further analysed the dogmatic truths contained in form in the Bible. The official Church through the Oecumenical Councils issued canons and orders to strengthen the authority of these works and recom-

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "On Priesthood" IV, 4, in Migne P.G. 48, 665; also In. Pelus.: Letters, I, 214 (to Domitius), II, 235 (to Herminus), in Migne P.G. 78, 317, 673.

(2) Nic. Gregoras VI 5 (17-18), vol. I, p. 161 (Bonn); Alexius I Comnenus: Novellae Constitutiones XX, in Migne P.G. 127, 969-72; also Ibid, XVI pp. 945-68.

(3) Life of St. Gregory, bishop of Agrigento, in Migne P.G. 116, 209.

(4) Cedrenus: "Synopsis of Histories" vol. II, p. 641 (Bonn); Leo the Deacon: "Histories" VI, 6, in Migne P.G. 117, 804 C.

mended all clergymen to turn to them whenever any matter of interpretation arose. This attitude of the Church towards the works of the Fathers had been so respected by its devotees that afterwards even great dogmatists and other writers declared that they had added nothing new to what these early Fathers once said. (1)

These works carefully studied give us an idea of the cultivation of secular wisdom as well. The Church Fathers had studied the most important of Greek philosophers, especially Plato and Aristotle. The early dogmatists concentrated on Aristotle's work on logic; for example Leontius of Byzantium was the first to introduce Aristotelian definitions into theology (2) and the greatest of the Eastern Church dogmatists, John of Damascus, also did so. (3) From this time onwards Aristotle became the favourite philosopher of the Church, although this does not mean that the study of Plato was neglected. Because of their completeness and perfection it was natural for these works to influence profoundly any one who wished to deal with the themes examined in these treatises, just as the Greek classics influenced their readers. However, this did not prevent exceptional minds from creating original work in well-known fields and from giving supplementary views on topics already examined. As an example we may mention Germanus II, in whose dogmatic works we find Anselmus' instruction "about expiation" (written in Latin) formulated in theory by Germanus. (4)

Obviously study and research - original or not - was mainly limited to religious matters, and because of this arises another accusation, that the Byzantines did not pursue scientific studies as they should have done. This is true to a certain extent only, since we have from century to century quite a number of laymen and clergymen in Byzantium who spent much of their time and life in scientific studies, men such as Photius, Michael Psellus, Nicephorus Blennydes, Maximus Planudes, and others. This would never have happened if the Church had been wholly opposed to such a study.

(1) St. John Dam.: "Fountain of Knowledge", Dialectics, prooemium, in Migne P.G. 94, 525.

(2) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 9, vol. I, pp. 99, 130.

(3) K. Krumbacher Ibid. 16, 182, vol. I, p. 128, II, p. 49.

(4) Lagopates S.N.: "Germanus II etc." Part II, pp. 205-208.

4. THE MONASTERIES

In order to round off the discussion of the role which the Church played in education, I must also speak of monasteries in Byzantium. Their first contribution to education is in the field of elementary education. The Church Father recommended parents in general to send their children to monastic schools, which they considered as ideal places for the formation of good characters, and the turning out of well educated men. (1) We have evidence that parents living near the monasteries sent their children to such schools. If the "Typikon" of any monastery did not allow young children to enter or live in it, the school for these children could function outside, very near it, in which case the monks engaged in teaching were allowed to go away from the monastery. (2) This was the case, for instance, with the children coming to the monastery of Studium for their elementary instruction. (3) But on the whole, the monastic schools were intended to serve the needs of the monasteries. The children who were intended to become monks were delivered to educated monks to be instructed in the 'sacred letters'. The same happened with those of the older ones who entered the monasteries illiterate, though they ought to know reading and writing. Nevertheless, many of the latter remained illiterate, being not apt to learn; these were occupied as labourers. (4) It is true that the majority of the monks living in a monastery had to perform domestic duties, viz. farming, gardening, carpentry, etc. to support themselves. As a result of continuous occupation in such tasks, however, many were completely divorced from studies and were satisfied with the learning by heart of some prayers and passages from the Bible. This practice, I think, was partly at least responsible for the creation of the wrong impression in the minds of these monks that study as such - even of the Bible - was not so necessary for the salvation of their soul and that exercise, fast and the usual prayers were enough. Whence the neglect in many monasteries of 'sacred letters' and much more so of grammar and of other subjects of encyclical paideia.

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- (1) St. J. Chrys.: "Address to a faithful father" in Migne P.G. 47, 380.
(2) Rules of Nicephorus, patriarch of Con/ple 17, in Migne P.G. 100, 857.
(3) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 869.
(4) Eust. Thess.: "De emendanda vita monachica" 153, in Migne P.G. 135, 856.

There is something, however, to be counted in favour of the monastic education; namely concern for technical education. The monks occupied in various crafts (1) had to learn them from monks experts in these jobs. Thus the problem of proper vocational guidance attracted the full attention of the organisers of monastic life, St. Basil, Theodore of Studium and other Church personalities. (2)

A certain number of monks occupied themselves also with advanced studies. We know that in the monastery of Studium Theodore of Studium established a school of encyclical *paideia*, which was the centre of the study of language, of grammar and of dialectics. Naturally it served religious and theological study in general. (3) Furthermore other monks were occupied with other lessons and connected responsibilities, in another school, organised by Theodore of Studium, for scribes (4) for the copying of manuscripts not only for the needs of the monastery but also for sale. To the monks engaged in this task calligraphy was also taught in addition to reading and writing. They were busy writing books for their brother monks (5) as well as for faithful Christians living outside the monasteries. Such books were the *Chronographiae*, lives of saints, etc. There were monks who wrote or copied other books, too, but generally speaking the preference was for biographies and miracles of saints and holy men which, because of their content and form constituted the favourite reading material of the Byzantines. What Krumbacher says is true, viz. that "hagiography ... very often is using the genuine language of the people, which does not suffer from the malady of classicism..." (6) And it was for this reason that the masses turned to reading books and pamphlets of this kind written by pious monks in the colloquial language for the sake of their *ψυχαγωγία* - i.e. the leading up of their souls - to fervid religious feeling (7) of the people. This double service of the monks

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- (1) Life of Theodore of Studium I, in *Migne P.G.* 99, 168; Theodore of Studium: "Punishments", 36-110; *Eust. Thess.*: Ibid. 54, 153 in *Migne P.G.* 135, 773, 856; see also K. Krumbacher *G.B.L.* 295 vol. II, p. 62.
 - (2) Photius: Letters, II, 30 (to Zachariah of Antioch), in *Migne P.G.* 102, 841 ff; *Eust. Thess.* Ibid. in *Migne* Ibid 729-910.
 - (3) Life of Theodore of Studium II, in *Migne P.G.* 99, 273 B-C.
 - (4) Ibid. 273 C.
 - (5) K. Krumbacher *G.B.L.*, 147, vol. I, pp. 715 ff.
 - (6) K. Krumbacher *Ibid.*, 82, vol. I, p. 354.
 - (7) K. Krumbacher *Ibid.*

to the Byzantines must not pass unnoticed. Through these readings, even written in a crude form and style sometimes, the less educated Byzantine people, that is the majority of them, could get some spiritual nutrition for their minds and keep their intellectual interests awake in an age when people around them were completely illiterate. Furthermore, these written works were the beginning, together with some folk songs, of the use of the spoken language in written works and of its gradual development, thanks to which it became possible for others to write their literary works with greater success.

Some of the books written by the monks, such as the biographies of Saints (1) and the hymns which they composed, were used in the schools of 'sacred letters', while other volumes, such as copies of ancient manuscripts, were used in the schools of encyclical studies, (2) or by other self-taught men. In this way then the scribe monks proved to be very useful to the education of Byzantines in general. And if we remember that other monasteries were also founded and functioned on the pattern of the monastery of Studium - and we do know that from the 9th century onwards many new monasteries were founded - (3) we must conclude that education profited considerably from this practice.

In some monasteries there lived periodically many well educated monks (4) usually being educated before joining the monastic life. (5) These monks being fond of learning went on with their studies seeking perfection. (6) At various times there were also seminaries providing systematic theological instruction and lessons in the interpretation of the Bible. (7)

Unfortunately, all these activities were not pursued in every monastery and during the whole Byzantine era. More than two centuries later Eustathius of Thessalonica attacked the monks of his archdiocese because

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- (1) Life of St. Anastasius the Persian, 5, in Migne P.G. 114, 780 C-D.
 - (2) Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", p. 165.
 - (3) Life of Theodore of Studium II 29, in Migne P.G. 99, 276 A; also Ibid. I, in Migne Ibid., p. 169 A.
 - (4) Eust. Thess.: "De emendanda vita monachica" 128, 145, in Migne P.G. 135, 836, 849; De Paollus: "In praise of Xiphilinus" in K. Athan B.G.H. vol. IV, p. 440.
 - (5) St. Dorotheos: "Helpful Teachings" 10, 2 in Migne P.G. 88, 1726.
 - (6) St. Dorotheos: Ibid.
 - (7) Theophanes Chronographia vol. I, p. 118 (Bonn).

he found them completely neglecting the study even of sacred books, and showing no interest whatsoever in the libraries of their monasteries. (1)

Before closing the circle of relevant activities of monasteries in Byzantium we should not fail to mention that in all big monasteries in or near cities, towns, etc. there were always hospitals attached to them; in the bigger ones there was always a great number not only of doctors, but also of practising assistants. (2)

In regard to the study of classics there is a charge against the monasteries that whenever humanistic studies were about to flourish in Byzantium their first and strongest opponent was the monastic spirit, (3) with the result that humanism, (4) though it appeared very early and more than once in Byzantium, never came to fulfilment here as in Italy during the 14th and 15th centuries. This is really true. The monastic spirit was on the whole characterised by a narrowmindedness which found its expression in the refusal of many of its representatives to accept and use whatever good could be found in the works of Greek literature and philosophy, merely because they could not see any higher value, mainly any humanistic value, in the study of classics; for they paid attention only to their pagan content. But how are we to explain this attitude? Life in the monasteries was thought of by Fathers like St. John Chrysostom as very suitable for christian perfection (5) and enough to bring a man nearer to his Creator. The monks, on the other hand, by living a pure and ascetic life in every respect, succeeded in gaining the full esteem and reverence of the Byzantines, (6) who thus became favourably disposed to them as well as to their views on many matters. Conservative as their spirit was it could not tolerate at all the propagation of any idea contrary to the spirit of Orthodoxy and strove by all means to keep intact

(1) Eust. Thess.: "De commendanda vita monachica", 143, 144, in Migne P.G. 135, 849 f.

(2) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", pp. 238-39; also D.C. Hosceling: "Byzantium and Byzantine Civilization", pp. 279-80, where mention is made of that part of the Typikon of the Pantocrator Monastery concerning the establishment and function of its hospital.

(3) Em. Kriaras: "Paideia in Byzantium", in magazine " ("Paideia and Life"), No 58, Athens 1951, p. 338 f.

(4) By "humanism" is meant here the return to the study of classics with a deliberate effort to understand their humanising power as such.

(5) St. J. Chrys.: "Address to a faithful father", in Migne P.G. 47, 380.

(6) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", p. 212; see also Ch. Diehl: "History of the Byzantine Empire", p. 76 (Greek translation).

the ancient Christian tradition along with the truth of the Bible. It is not to be wondered at then that they were hostile to enthusiasts for classical education and philosophy, who tried to propagate their ideas to their fellow-men. Their antipathy towards students of classical scholarship was transmitted in turn to their subject matter, namely the secular *paideia* as such. The influence of the monastic spirit grew greater and more intolerant, with the time, with the result that highly educated men and scholars left the capital for other places of the Byzantine Empire or abroad, especially during the last centuries of the Byzantine era, to carry to Italy and the West their wisdom as well as the torch of the humanistic spirit.

It would be unjust and unreal, however, to ascribe the absence of a Renaissance in Byzantium such as that in Italy of the 14th and 15th centuries only to the opposition of the monastic spirit. We must keep in mind that the conditions, circumstances and factors which caused the Italian Renaissance could not appear exactly the same in Byzantium. To support our view we may make an appeal to K. Krumbacher's own opinion that "the ancient tradition had never been completely extinguished in Byzantium and therefore an epoch of humanism could not flash there just as in the West. The relation to antiquity on the political and literary side was always kept alive ... except perhaps in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. To this is due the fact that the artificially intensified zeal towards the classical Greek writers, which from the time of the Comneni became so usual, appeared by no means foreign and lifeless to the Byzantines when contrasted with the Latin literature of humanists, which was not considered as something national even by the Italians themselves". (1)

The charge, however, brought against the monastic spirit that it was opposed to humanistic studies loses much of its weight if we remember three things; first that the Byzantine monks handed down to us many valuable ancient texts in manuscripts; secondly, that in every century there were plenty of monks highly educated enough to have undergone encyclical *paideia*. In fact such monks appear from the age of Isidore Pelusiotes

(1) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 2, vol. I, p. 35; see also D.C. Hessolings: "Byzantium and Byzantine Civilisation", (Greek translation) p. 198: "The Byzantines never had to rediscover the ancient writers as Petrarch and his companions had to do."

up to Nicophorus Chummas and afterwards, many of whom as Nicophorus Blennydes, Maximus Planudes and others by their works contributed highly to the renaissance of classical studies in Byzantium during the last centuries of its existence; third, that the monasteries contributed to the increase of the number of those learned men, who were familiar with the classical Greek learning. This happened because many such men found time and enjoyment in writing only when they had withdrawn to some monastery. (1)

5. CONCLUSION

From what has been said in this chapter we see that many factors contributed to the education of Byzantine people, with the result that many of them received not only elementary but, to a certain extent, also secondary and higher education. The reader must not, however, be left with the impression that all Byzantines received some education. The great majority were either little educated or completely illiterate. This should not be surprising. There were many excuses for it. The Byzantine people lived under very hard and peculiar conditions: The continuous wars with their unhappy consequences; the large number of schools needed, and the difficulties in maintaining them; the providing of teachers, buildings and equipment; the scarcity of books for every pupil to study. All these made the matter of education in general a serious problem at least for the majority of Byzantines. In view of all these factors it is no longer surprising that we have so many barely educated Byzantines in the heart of the Middle Ages, but what is in my opinion surprising is that despite all these difficulties there were so many well educated Byzantines. If we compare them with neighbouring peoples and other nations we have no difficulty in concluding that the Byzantines were on the whole much more educated and civilised,⁽²⁾ a fact which their contemporaries never disputed.

(1) K. Krumbacher Ibid. 55, vol. I, p. 277.

(2) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 178.

CHAPTER II

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

From the study of the educational system of Byzantines we see that primary, secondary and higher education were provided in Byzantium. These successive stages are seeing in the Hellenistic period for the first time. On this point, therefore, the Byzantines did not present any innovation. Nevertheless, some changes did take place in the educational system of Byzantines. First, the aim of the schools of the first stage was broadened. The primary school gave some elementary knowledge and in addition it aimed at the preparation of "good Christians." In the other stages the aims remained almost the same as before the Byzantine period. There were, however, some schools in these stages rendering their services to the State and the Church, and because of this they were supported by them. The curriculum also remained the same on the whole. Some additions or changes in the teaching material might be seen but basically the instruction in them aimed at the initiation of the student in the "Greek paideia" - i.e. "the seven liberal arts", Trivium and Quadrivium. New knowledge might be added to the old from time to time through the manuals written by expert Byzantine learned men for the sake of the studying youth. On the methodology of teaching few changes might be seen, especially in the teaching of Grammar.

Before entering into details concerning the education in these three stages, we must discuss the bringing up and teaching of children in their pre-school age at home; for in Byzantium great attention was given to Family as an educational factor.

Stressing the role of parents in the education of children St. John Chrysostom says: "God made us to be loved by our parents that we might have teachers in virtue. For it is not only begetting which makes a father, but teaching ($\kappa \alpha : \delta \epsilon \upsilon \sigma \alpha \iota$) well; not conceiving which makes a mother, but bringing up ($\theta \rho \acute{\epsilon} \psi \alpha \iota$) well". (1) In fact this opinion was the belief of every Byzantine worth his salt; all thought of "Family"

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "On Anna" I, 3, in Migne P.G. 54, 636.

as the most important factor in the education of the child of pre-school and primary school stage. Both of the parents had the duty of "bringing up" well their children, though the greatest responsibility for it was laid on the child's mother. The Byzantines knew that none else can replace a mother without the fear of producing some permanent harm to the immature infant or child. For this reason their educationists were not in favour of the old custom to take $\tau \acute{\iota} \tau \theta \eta$ or $\tau \rho \omicron \varphi \acute{o} \varsigma$ - nurse- for the growing infant, though they had to accept this deeply rooted tradition. But they expected the 'nurse' to be physically strong, to have good manners, to be patient, tolerant, a sincere human being, etc., because her life, her example and word highly influenced the very young children. (1) The same qualifications were asked of those servants who came in touch with the infants and of 'pedagogues'. (2) The fact that Byzantine educators concerned themselves with this old custom of 'nurse' and 'pedagogue' shows that it was kept throughout the Byzantine period- at least among many wealthy people. (3). As for the pedagogues the evidence shows that they were in existence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (4)

The general practice, however, was for the mothers to have the full responsibility of their children's up-bringing(5) even in the cases where they could afford 'nurses' and pedagogues, as in the case of the Great Fathers, of Theodore of Studium, and Michael Psellus' daughter. (6)

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- (1) For details see P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 143.
 - (2) About the reasons that imposed the careful choice of 'nurses', 'pedagogues' etc. see above pp. 33-34, 38-39.
 - (3) St. Greg. Nyssa: "Life of St. Macrina" in Migne P.G. 46, 961; St. John Chrys.: "On Psalms" 50, 5, in Migne P.G. 55, 572; Eust. Thess.: "Commentaries on Homer" 7438, 25: "there are mothers who bear children but, instead of feeding them as it were expose them to wet-nurses."
 - (4) Germanus II, in Lagopatis S.H.: "Germanus II etc." III, 3, pp. 226-27.
 - (5) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 17; St. John Chrys.: "On Psalms" 50, 5, in Migne P.G. 55, 572.
 - (6) St. Greg. Nyssa: "Life of St. Macrina" in Migne P.G. 46, 961; St. Greg. Naz.: "In praise of Caesarius", 3-5, in Migne P.G. 35, 757-61; Theodore of Studium: Speech XIII, 5 "Catechesis funebria in matrem suam", in Migne P.G. 99, 888 A-B; M. Psellus: "Encomium to his daughter" in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 64.

The question now arises how mothers/burht to bring up their children during pre-school age. The great educators of Byzantine period dealt with this problem extensively. During this period of life the child is in the stage of rapid bodily growth, in the period of 'moral' formation -- since it is by this time that the foundations of character are laid (1)-- and finally in the period of intellectual development. Therefore, the parents have to take care not only of the child's sound bodily growth but also of its moral and intellectual development.

The Byzantine educationists recommend the care of the body because it is the "instrument and the lyre" of the soul. (2) We are in need of a healthy body in order that it may become obedient to the soul. No doubt that in the infant's case such a care is one of the mother's most important and primary tasks. In a later age, when the bodily development has been more or less completed, we must stick to the rule of the "golden mean" -- of "a measure" -- in everything concerning our body and its concerns. (3)

The Byzantine physicians and educators have given right and useful advice to the mothers and 'nurses' of infants. They give great importance to the exercise for the formation of hygienic habits; because the power of habit is enormous during infancy. Every habit is established as a second nature, difficult to eradicate later on. (4) Special significance was attributed by St. John Chrysostom to the child's habituation in self-control and self-service. (5) The good results of being capable of self-service are that "this will make the youth robust, not disdainful but affable and meek." (6).

In the normal physical growth of infants play has an important role, too, according to Byzantine educators. They were pretty well aware of the truth of what the ancients said that "the youth cannot be still" and

(1) St. John Chrys.: "On John" 3, 1, in Migne P.G. 59, 37-38.

(2) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 329 (to Zosimus) in Migne P.G. 78, 1525.

(3) Is. Pelus.: Letters, V, 528 (to Domitius) in Migne P.G. 78, 1625.

(4) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 25.

(5) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid, 70.

(6) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid.

that also the impulses to movement and activity are very strong during infancy and childhood. The play comes to meet these needs. For those reasons all Byzantine educators were in favour of play at pre-school age, provided that the games would be analogous to the age, the powers and the perceptiveness of the child.

During the two or three first years of life the infant is greatly dependent on the good care of his mother, or 'nurse'. On this field, then, the mother should have the initiative, the care of organising and of carrying out her infant's play. In fact very often the mothers played with their children for the sake of their recreation or occupied them with tales and myths (1) in order to keep them quiet; among the commonest infant games played with the mother were: hide and seek (of the mother or various objects), 'intimidation' of the infant, various movements of hands accompanied by phrases or songs, etc. There were also toys for the infants to play with when alone; various objects or ready-made toys such as rattles, balls in baskets, model animals made up of wood or clay, etc, or other small objects put in baskets were often given to the infant in order to arise its interest. (2)

When the infants grow older (4 to 6 years of age) and could move freely about - in and out of the house - they started playing other games, too. Guided by their imagination, for instance, they played horseback, riding of a reed. They could also imitate the older children's games or other everyday activities of the adults. (3) The boys, we are told, used to play all day and enjoy their free time very much. (4) As for the girls of this age, they also played much at this period of life; but they had

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- (1) St. Basil: Moral speeches selected by Symeon Metaphrastes: Speech 14 "De futuro Judicio", 3, in Migne P.G. 32, 1304; St. J. Chrys.: "On Thess." II, 2, 3, in Migne P.G. 62, 478; M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 17.
- (2) St. J. Chrys.: On Cor. I, IV, 6, in Migne P.G. 61, 38; On Heb. XXV, 2, in Migne P.G. 63, 174; St. Basil: Letters, III, 30 (to Eunomius) in Migne P.G. 79, 385.
- (3) St. J. Chrys.: On Matthew 23, 9, in Migne P.G. 57, 318; Hermias Sozomenos: "Ecol. Hist." II, 17, in Migne P.G. 67, 977 B-C; Eust. Thess.: "Commentaries on Homer" 1020, 11; M. Choniates in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc." vol. II, p. 424
- (4) St. J. Chrys.: "In aliud Saulus adhuc spirans: De mutatione nominum" I, 1, in Migne P.G. 51, 115.

fewer opportunities than the boys for games outside their homes. The kinds of games and toys used during the first two or three years of life were much the same as those of boys. Afterwards, the girls used to play with dolls, made of wax or clay, (1) and from now on the objects and sorts of games played by the girls were different from those of boys. Some of the Byzantine educationists were against the idea of using expensive ready-made toys, because they might cultivate vanity in children, one of the great vices of character. (2) The parents, however, used to buy such toys for their children as we may infer from the highly developed manufacture of toys in Byzantium. We can add here that this holds true for those parents and children living in towns. Naturally, people of the countryside had few opportunities for providing their children with ready-made toys.

Games, apart from their use as means of bodily exercise and acquisition of various skills, constitute an excellent means of diagnosing the infants' tendencies and interests. This opinion, expressed by Plato, (3) was adopted by the Byzantine educationists; (4) but we do not know how far such sound ideas found their application in practice.

In addition to the bodily care the family ought to care also for the moral and intellectual development of infants. The behaviour of parents, especially of mothers, must be such as to make the child respect, love and at the same time be afraid of them. Neither excessive leniency and tenderness nor excessive strictness and toughness are allowed. The μέτρον ἄριστον must be the measure of the adults' behaviour towards the infants. Living in a morally blameless atmosphere the infant develops into a virtuous and social human being. (5)

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "On John" 81, 3, in *Migne P.G.* 59, 440.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 19, 90; On Timothy I, 9, in *Migne P.G.* 62, 547.

(3) Plato: "Laws" 643 B.

(4) Eusebius of Caesarea: "Preparation: Evangelica" XII, 17, in *Migne P.G.* 21, 980.

(5) St. Greg. Naz. VII "In praise of his brother Caesarius" 5, in *Migne P.G.* 35, 760; St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 20; On John 3, 1, in *Migne P.G.* 59, 37-38; St. Basil: "The Longer Rules" XV, 4, in *Migne P.G.* 31, 956 A

Finally, another means helping the child's moral development is the use of myths, fables and stories of appropriate content. We are helped in this because young children are very fond of them, as Synesius and other Byzantines (1) say. The content must always be morally blameless. In fact what Plato says (2) on this point is wholly accepted by the Byzantine educators. Eusebius of Caesarea, for instance, says in his comments on Plato's similar views, that we must select the myths to be told the infants and persuade mothers and nurses to narrate these myths to them and mould their souls by the morally blameless content of such myths. (3) The same view is also expressed by St. John Chrysostom in regard to the stories appropriate for children. (4)

The parents ought to care for an infant's intellectual development also. The myths and the stories to be narrated should be adapted to serve this end, too; they should be simple (5) and easily understood by infants, so that beyond the pleasure they may also provide the appropriate food for their intellectual growth and development. The Byzantine educationists paid due attention to this. (6)

In practice conscientious parents, particularly mothers, used to narrate stories from the Bible and other suitable myths and fables to their young children paying special attention to the content. There were many mothers and nurses, however, indifferent to the content, (7) who used to improvise horrible fables not helpful to the infant's moral and intellectual development. (8) Traces of such stories come down to modern

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- (1) Synesius: "On Providence" 2, in Migne P.G. 66, 1213; St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 39.
 - (2) Plato: Rep. II, ch. 17 c.
 - (3) Eusebius of Caesarea: "Preparatio Evangelica" XII, 5, in Migne P.G. 21, 956 D; St. J. Chrys.: On Thess. II, 2, 3, in Migne P.G. 62, 478; "How Parents etc." 40, 42.
 - (4) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid, 37, 38, 39, 43.
 - (5) St. J. Chrys.: On Psalms VI, 1, in Migne P.G. 55, 71; "How Parents etc." 38.
 - (6) Synesius: "On Providence" 2, in Migne P.G. 66, 1213; St. Basil: "On the Holy Spirit" 14 (33) in Migne P.G. 32, 125-28; St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 37, 38.
 - (7) St. Basil: Moral speeches selected by Symeon Metaphrastes: Speech 14 "De futuro Judicio" 3, in Migne P.G. 32, 1304.
 - (8) St. Greg. Naz. /

Greek folk-lore. The family also took care of the infant's catechism in Christianity; first, because it should become a Christian, and then because that was the way to secure the child's moral character. Apart from stories from the Bible, concrete examples showing the spirit of Christianity in practice were thought necessary to bring better results in this respect. Thus regular attendance to congregations, morning and evening prayers, (1) harmonious family life, kind behaviour of parents towards servants and other persons in need, and so on, had a positive contribution to the child's proper initiation to a virtuous life. (2) And this was actually how the vast majority of Byzantine parents brought up their children from infancy up to adolescence.

(B) contd from previous page

St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 18 "In praise of his father" in Migne P.G. 35, 966; St. Greg. Nyssa: "Life of St. Macrina" in Migne P.G. 46, 961; M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Nathan, vol. V, p. 17; St. J. Chrys.: On Thess. II, 2, 3, in Migne P.G. 62, 478; "How Parents etc", 38; On Eph. XXI, 1, in Migne P.G. 150

(1) Theodore of Studium: Speech XIII, "Catechesis funobris ad matrem suam", 5, in Migne P.G. 99, 888 B.

(2) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech VII "In praise of his brother Caesarius", 5; "virtue was owing to Caesarius from his parents, and you may not marvel ... if such being his parents, he made himself worthy of such praise.", in Migne P.G. 35, 760; Eust. Thess.: "In praise of Manuel Comnenus", 6; "From the cradle and from childhood he came to man's estate along the path of virtue and progressed, partly by treading in the footsteps of his ancestors and partly by paternal discipline.", in Migne P.G. 135, 977.

CHAPTER III

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Up to about the age of seven the whole responsibility for a child's education belonged to its family. From that time on the parents had to provide teachers for their children and to follow their progress in letters, conduct and catechism. In general schooling started with the completion of sixth or seventh year of age, (1) though in quite a number of cases it started before (2) or after (3) that.

In the schools of elementary education we have co-education, except in the case of monastery schools. That girls used to attend the schools of elementary instruction is a certainty. (4) We have also said above (p. 77) that in many cases parents used to teach their children the first letters at home, either themselves, or by hiring private teachers.

These schools had a double mission: first, to provide some elementary knowledge in reading writing, arithmetic, etc; second, to provide the pupils with moral and religious education, side by side with that provided by the family. This second mission was thought of as the most important: such schools aimed at the preparation of "good Christians", as we have already said, hence the name "schools of sacred letters". It is this second aim in fact that distinguishes these schools from similar schools of the past; for the earlier schools aimed at the teaching of the 3 R's, namely at instruction in letters only. The Byzantine "grammatist" - this was the primary school teacher's name - is not merely a school-teacher, an instructor of letters, but also an educator in Christian virtue. The fact that elementary education was on the whole in the hands of the Church is an indication that the "grammatist" was no longer "any person, but

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- (1) Life of St. Theodore of Studium II, 3, in Migne P.G. 99, 237 A; M. Psellus: "Encomium to his daughter" in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 65. This was an old custom dated from Plato's (Laws VII, 796 C) and Aristotle's (Pol. 1336, 3; Polit. VII, 15, 4) time.
 - (2) St. J. Chrys.: "In illud, Saulus adhuc spirans. De Mutatione nominum II", 1, in Migne P.G. 51, 125; M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 12.
 - (3) Life of St. Gregory, bishop of Agragas, 2, in Migne P.G. 116, 192 A.
 - (4) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his daughter" in K. Sathas, B.G.H. vol. V, p. 65; St. Athanasius: "Life of St. Synkeliki, 14 in Migne P.G. 28, 1493C; also P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantines" vol. A, I, p. 38.

a person having, apart from the knowledge of his subject, a moral character and the responsibility to train his pupils in Christian virtue and implant in their hearts the "fear of God". He was a priest in most cases, that is a person of authority respected by parents and pupils alike. (1) The contempt of the grammarian by the "free" citizen of ancient Greek and Roman times (2) gradually gave place to the respect of the teacher. Such a change in attitude needs time, of course, to be completed. And if this was not fully achieved in Byzantium, it was due not to the clergy and the teachers-monks, but to those lay teachers, who were looking exclusively after money, thus losing their authority and respect among parents and pupils, or who were poorly educated.

Primary education was not compulsory in the modern sense of the word. However, the Church (3) by its great hierarchs, by the "Canons" of the Oecumenical Councils and in general by all means available obliged the parents to send their children to the schools of "sacred letters", following Paul's advice (4) in this respect. In fact from the study of various biographies of saints and other personalities we gather that a large number of schools and teachers mainly dependent on the Church did exist in Byzantium. Unfortunately most of these schools and teachers are mentioned anonymously (5) thus making it difficult for us to use the sources properly. We could, nevertheless, give a short list of such schools about which we have clear evidence. For example, in the Sicilian village of Frastorii such a school was functioning in the seventh century; (6) In another village in Magnesia (in Asia Minor) near Sipulum a similar school was working under the priest Leontius during the tenth century; (7)

(1) Symeon Metaphrastes: "Life of St. Euthymius", 7, in Migne P.G. 114, 601 C

(2) See H. I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part III, ch. X, p. 339.

(3) See above pp. 87, 93.

(4) On Timothy II, 3, 15

(5) Life of St. John Calybites, 2; Life of St. Anastasius the Porcian, 4; Life of John, patriarch of Alexandria, ; Life of St. Marcianus, 2 in Migne P.G. 114, 565, 780, 896, 432; etc.

(6) Life of St. Gregory, bishop of Agrigento, in Migne P.G. 116, 209.

(7) M. J. Gedeon: Information from the Typikon of the monastery of Mount Calazion, pp. 11-12.

In larger centres, too, there were such schools functioning probably under conditions than the schools of the country. The readers of the Church at Melitene in Cappadocia, for instance, in the fourth century, Aencius and Synodius, are referred to as teachers of "sacred letters" there; (1) in Augustopolis in Phrygia it is said that a priest named Eutychius taught the "sacred letters" at the beginning of the sixth century; (2) in Cydonia in Crete there was such a school functioning during the eighth century; (3) in Thessalonica we know that such schools always existed, and that in the fourteenth century the city was an important intellectual centre. During this period we know that there was a school of "sacred letters", where Isidorus, (4) later monk and then patriarch, not only was a pupil but also a teacher, (5) and that the monk Symeon was delivered to grammaticists from a very early age.

To have already suggested the reasons why the Church founded and kept functioning such schools. In addition, it must be said that these schools prepared the ground for those who wished to pursue their studies further - in the schools of "encyclopaedia" - and gave a chance to those who devoted themselves to trade and other occupations to train up their minds and learn reading and writing needed to them.

Attendance in the schools of primary stage lasted for three to four years. This was greatly dependent on the pupil's general ability and progress. Gifted pupils with regular attendance never spent more than three years in primary school. (6) Promotion from grade to grade could take place during the school year in the case of exceptional pupils. This could be done because of the system of individual work which was in wide use in such schools. The ordinary pupil, on the other hand, gained his promotion at the end of the school year.

(1) Life of St. Euthymius, 6, in Migne P.G. 114, 601 B.

(2) Life of Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, 8, in Migne P.G. 86, 2284.

(3) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 869.

(4) Will of Isidore, patriarch of Constantinople, in Migne P.G. 152, 1297.

(5) For a more detailed list see: H.J. Gieseler: "Schools of Middle Ages, especially the Byzantine schools" in "Ecumenical Truth" (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ) vol. 22, pp. 188-90, 201-2; Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", pp. 16-18.

(6) Life of St. Gregory, bishop of Agrigento, 2, in Migne P.G. 116, 192 B.

Despite the efforts of the Church not all Byzantines acquired elementary education. However, they had opportunities to broaden their knowledge - especially those knowing reading. First, we may mention the effect of preaching in the churches. The Byzantines used to go frequently to the church services and ceremonies (1) and hear the preachers analyse the Bible's moral and spiritual content. So they had the opportunity to increase their religious knowledge and to be aware of many minute subtleties of Christian doctrines. It is well known that the ordinary Byzantine citizens spent much time on discussions on religious matters. On the other hand, they had the opportunity to acquire general knowledge in these services, because the preachers used to decorate their arguments with examples taken from the nature, from social life and so on. Then those who knew reading used to read various books, written in their spoken language, thus enriching their general knowledge. We have already noticed that the monks used to write books for the less educated monks and the people. In addition, there were books containing "Animal Stories" such as the $\Phi \upsilon \sigma \iota \sigma \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \omicron \varsigma$ or the $\Pi \omicron \upsilon \lambda \omicron \lambda \acute{o} \gamma \omicron \varsigma$, which were the favourite books of the less educated Byzantines. From this argument we may conclude that though the Byzantines as primary school pupils received limited general knowledge, as adults they - as well as those who had not been at primary school at all - had some opportunities to broaden their span of knowledge from the religious, social and encyclopaedic point of view. And though the Byzantines might be called $\acute{\epsilon} \lambda \iota \gamma \omicron \gamma \rho \acute{\alpha} \mu \mu \alpha \tau \omicron \iota$ - little educated - they were more educated than any other nation in Medieval times.

(1) See Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", p. 223.

CURRICULUM, TEXT-BOOKS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

USED IN BYZANTIUM

The curriculum of the schools of "sacred letters" seems to be broader than that of the pre-Byzantine period; it served both the acquisition of knowledge and the moral development of the Byzantine pupil. Below we attempt a more or less detailed examination of the topics related to the various subjects taught in the primary school.

READING

In regard to reading the "grammatist" aimed at making his pupils read fluently. Though such a pursuit seems to be simple in practice it was actually a very hard task, because of the method of instruction - *ὁ νοματολογικὴ* - used. This was a traditional method dated from Plato's time. A systematic description of this method of instruction has been given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1) and Quintilian. (2) From the Byzantine writers St. Basil mentions and recommends this method, as well as St. John Chrysostom, who finds its use very natural. Such is the case with other Byzantine writers like Isidore Pelusiotes, Michael Psellus, Michael Choniates, and so on. In fact up to the end of the nineteenth century none thought of changing this method, at least in the first stages of the teaching of reading, in the primary schools of Greece.

According to this method the pupils learned the alphabet first, then syllables, then words and phrases, and lastly reading passages from various texts. The teacher started the instruction of reading by writing the letter to be learned so that all pupils could see it well, and then pointed at it while pronouncing it clearly again and again, until the pupils learned both its shape and sound. We have a very interesting testimony here: "those who make the acquaintance of the letter ALPHA(A), first see its shape, then are taught its name." (3) And this task is not so easy, he says, "for the letter requires much effort and skill in order to be learnt". (4) In this manner all letters were taught in the order

(1) De Compositione Verbarum, 25.

(2) Institutio Oratoria, 1, I, 25.

(3) St. Athanasius: "Life of St. Synklitiki", 86, in Migne P.G. 28, 1540.

(4) St. Athanasius: Ibid.

of the alphabet, and the pupils used to learn them "by rote". The teacher was advised to avoid this by using exercises helping the pupil to recognise each letter regardless of its alphabetic order: He could present them mixed up, in the reverse order, by joining the first letter with the last, the second with the second last, and so on. (1) During the first stage of instruction of reading the teacher ought to proceed step by step and slowly. Because "if anyone despises his A,B,C, he will never attain the perfection of wisdom"(2)The same recommendation is given by St. John Chrysostom who affirms that "you will not be able to read without a knowledge of the letters". (3)

In the second stage the syllables were taught from the simpler to the more complicated constructions. At first each consonant was joined with every vowel, i.e. BA, BE, EH, etc, starting with B and following the alphabetic order of consonants. Then the same consonant was added at the end of each nonsense syllable like BAB, BEB, etc., and finally the more difficult and complicated nonsense syllables were given to the pupil such as BIA, BLE, etc. What made learning of such things difficult was not only that these syllables had no meaning but also that they were formed by pronouncing first the names of the letters and then the sound which was different from the separate sounds of the letters involved; for instance the syllable BAB, was first presented as Beta-Alpha-Beta and then by a mysterious process the sound BAB was coming out!

The third stage covered the instruction of words and short sentences. (4) Here again we have a grading of the words in lists, from one-syllable to two-syllable words onwards to short phrases. In the schools of pre-Byzantine period the words - chiefly names - were taken from Homer and other ancient writers. We notice the same thing happening in Byzantine schools, but in a lesser degree. This was because many writers advised

(1) St. J. Chrys.: On Matthew 11, 8, in Migne P.G. 57, 201.

(2) St. Basil: To Amphilocheus "On the Holy Spirit", ch. I, prooemium in Migne P.G. 32, 69.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: On Heb. 9, 2, in Migne P.G. 63, 77; also On Col. II, 5, in Migne P.G. 62, 316 and On Col. IV, 4 Ibid, 331.

(4) M. Psellus: "In praise of his daughter" in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 65; also St. Basil: Speech 16 "In principio erat Verborum", 1, in Migne P.G. 31, 476; M. Choniates: Letter 130 (to the abbot of the Holy Confessors) in E. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." vol. II, p. 262.

the use of words from the Bible. Here is St. Basil's recommendation: "It is also necessary for the study of letters to be akin to the end in view, so that they can make use of the names from the scriptures...."(1) By doing so and by getting passages from the Psalter, we make learning easier and a pleasant task, St. John Chrysostom holds. (2) Michael Psellus provides evidence that this was happening in the primary schools of his day, since his daughter, "thus she laid hold of the letters of the alphabet, and the combination of syllables, and putting-together of words - and having equipped her mind with these she embarked upon the Psalms of David." (3)

From the sources I have examined, a specimen of which I have just quoted, I can venture to conclude that at least two changes or "deviations" from the traditional method of teaching reading did take place; namely, the use of Biblical names instead of names from Homer or Greek mythology and of nonsense words, and the early introduction of texts from the Psalter already known to the people for the most part. The French scholar H. I. Marrou, however, - basing his opinion on sources not accessible to me - proceeds even farther and suggests that the method was changed to "a sort of crude equivalent of our general method." (4)

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- (1) St. Basil: "The Longer Rules" XV, 3, in Migne P.G. 31, 953 C.
- (2) St. J. Chrys.: On Col. IX, 2: "Seeing that reading is tedious and its irksomeness great, he (Paul) led them (the disciples) not to narratives, but to psalms, that you might at once delight the soul with singing and gently beguile the labours..." in Migne P.G. 62, 362.
- (3) M. Psellus: "In praise of his daughter" in K. Patas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 65.
- (4) H. I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity" Part III, ch. X, pp. 338-39: "It still began, of course, with the alphabet; but whereas in classical times this led on to a series of carefully graded stages of an abstract analytical system, it now led straight on to a text, the Text - the Sacred Text. The master would take a writing-board and write out the passage that was to be the subject of the lesson; generally he began with a Psalm, for the main idea behind the teaching was to enable the pupil to master the Psalter, the basis of the Divine Office. The child was supposed to read the passage again and again until he knew it by heart - a sort of crude equivalent of our general method. In the early stages this was less a matter of reading the passage properly than of doing it from memory. He did not learn to read like a Greek child; he learned to read the particular passage - the Psalter, the New Testament. And what he learned was the Word of God, the revealed Scripture, the only thing worth knowing. How different from the classical method!"

In regard to the procedure in teaching reading from texts we observe the following. The teacher gave a passage from the reader - usually from an ecclesiastical book - to the pupil for study. The pupil had to read it again and again and when he thought that he had learned it he went to the teacher for a check. The teacher called all the school-mates of this pupil belonging to the same grade to attend the pupil's reading. Whenever the pupil failed his fellows corrected him by repeating the part badly read. If the teacher found the pupil's reading satisfactory he delivered the book to the next pupil for study, and ordered another passage to the first for further study. Otherwise, the first pupil had to study the same passage again, and if the imperfect reading was due to laziness the teacher could punish him.

From what has been said we gather that the teacher started the first lesson in reading with all his pupils as beginners, but later on, due to their different progress he had to use individual teaching along with group or class teaching. Individual work took place in learning the new lesson, and group work whenever check of a pupil's work was done. However, individual work in reading had to be done for another important and practical reason also, namely for lack of books to be used by each pupil separately. In most cases there was one book to be used by many pupils. Reading was done aloud in pre-Byzantine times. But one easily sees that this could not be done in a classroom where many other pupils were working together and the teacher had to teach them in groups and classes. We must, therefore, conclude that silent reading had been introduced, at least in schools with many pupils of different levels. However, when the pupils had practice at home reading aloud was widely used. Libanius, the great orator (fourth century), tells us that because of this "the neighbours were unable to sleep, while some had fallen ill." (1) The pupils who studied at home were attended and helped by their parents in most cases, as Michael Psellus tells us of his own mother. (2)

(1) See in H.H. Baynes: "The Byzantine Empire", p. 153.

(2) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Patas B.G.M. vol. V, pp. 7, 21; Theodore of Studium: Speech XIII, 5, "Catechesis funebris in matrem suam", in Migne P.G. 99, 888 A-B.

By using individual work in a wide scale in primary schools the intelligent pupils had more chance to profit from their school-work than the rest. Being able to finish the work asked for they had the right to come to the teacher in order to be checked and assigned a new lesson, at least in the basic subjects - reading and counting. Relevant to this is a testimony springing out of the following quotation: "Just as the most gifted children still studying the syllables compete with the older ones and have more time with their teachers, so she, in the fervour of the spirit, outran the older girls." (1) Nothing surprising then if promotion of such pupils took place long before the rest of the class had completed their yearly work.

Reading text-books

It has become clear up to now that ecclesiastical books were used as readers in the schools of elementary education in Byzantium. This is another reason why these schools received the name of schools of "sacred letters". It was natural for such books to be exclusively used in these schools, since the latter were in the hands of the Church, were housed in churches or in rooms nearby, and the teachers were mostly persons of the Church. Another reason was that books at those times were very scarce. Printing was still unknown, the paper used was very expensive, and the books had to be written by hand. So the books were very dear. Michael Choniates informs us that to buy a complete Homer one had to pay "two Byzantine gold coins" - νομισματα ὀκτέπρυρα δύο". (2) Furthermore, even when the pupils had their own books at home they could not carry them to school every day, because the books were very heavy and bulky.

From the ecclesiastical books used the "Psalter" was given first. In fact the "Psalter" was the main reader in the Byzantine primary school and remained so in Greece till the nineteenth century. When the pupil was able to read it well he could proceed with other books, presented to him in order of difficulty. The "Psalter" came first for two reasons; first because the psalms were written in a simple form and easy to comprehend, and second because they had their melody, which made them attract-

(1) St. Athanasius: Life of St. Synkletiki, 14, in Migne P.G. 28, 1493 C.

(2) M. Choniates: Letter LII, 37 (to Georgius's son) in S. Lambros "Mich. Accm. etc." vol. II, p. 219.

ive to the little pupil. (1) About the educational value of Psalms we speak below, p.119. Many writers mention the "Psalter" as the basic reader in primary school. (2)

Other books recommended for reading were extracts from the various books of the Bible, such as the Proverbs, the Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. These books had to be presented in order of difficulty for their better comprehension. According to St. Gregory of Nyssa, "In one way Proverbs educate us, and in another way Ecclesiastes discourses to us; the philosophy of the Song of Songs is superior to both because it deals with exalted doctrines." He then goes on with an important remark as regards the Proverbs, which makes us suppose that this book followed the Psalter as a reader in the upper grades of primary school: "For the teaching of the Proverbs is addressed to the young and fits its words to their tender age." (3)

WRITING

The second subject after reading taught everyday was writing. It was taught side by side with reading, except perhaps in the stage of the instruction of the alphabet. The pupil learned first to recognise the shape and the name of the letters. Then the teacher proceeded to teach him how to write them. Writing was done on special tablets ($\kappa\iota\nu\alpha\chi\iota\varsigma$) made of wood smeared with wax. (4) The pupil wrote on its smoothed surface (5) either with a sharp instrument, the style ($\gamma\rho\alpha\varphi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$) or with a pen ($\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$). (6) The pen was made of reed - from which it took its name $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$ - by the pupil himself. He sharpened of the end

(1) St. J. Chrys.: On Col. IX, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 362.

(2) St. Basil: On Psalm 1, 1-2, in Migne P.G. 29, 212-13; Life of St. Anastasius the Persian, 4, in Migne P.G. 114, 780; E. Psellus: "In praise of his daughter" in K. Mathias B.C.H. vol. V, p. 65; Symeon Metaphrastes: Life of St. Joannicus, 9, in Migne P.G. 116, 44 C-D.

(3) St. Greg. Nyssa: "On the Song of Songs", I, in Migne P.G. 44, 760 A-B; St. Basil: "The Longer Rules" XV, 3, in Migne P.G. 31, 953 C; Is. Polus.: Letters, IV, 40 (to Isidore, the bishop) in Migne P.G. 78, 1069-92.

(4) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc.", 73.

(5) St. Basil: On Psalm 33, , in Migne P.G. 29, 341 B.

(6) Eust. Thess.: Speech to Manuel Comnenus, 5, in Migne P.G. 135, 941 B.

of the reed and then he split it at the ends. Its use presupposed the existence of ink, which was also prepared by the children themselves from powder of oak-apples. If the pupil wanted a darker colour he could mix it with other powder made from the burnt skin of green walnuts. (1) Effacing of the written letters was done either with the finger or with a sponge, when ink was used.

The method of teaching writing was as follows: The teacher wrote on the tablet, starting from its top left-hand end, the letter or syllable, phrase, etc., in the sight of the pupil. Then he delivered the tablet with the "ὁμογραμμός" written - thus were called the model letters made by the teacher - for the pupil to practise copying. The same thing was done with every individual pupil and one can see from this that the teacher spent much time writing the "ὁμογραμμός" on every pupil's tablet. The teacher, in addition, had to have a skill in penmanship so that his "ὁμογραμμός" should be a perfect pattern for imitation. For the beginner in writing this task was painstaking, since he had to imitate the teacher's writing as closely as possible. According to St. Gregory of Nazianzus, "those who draw shapes and write letters cannot copy them exactly without looking at the original and allowing themselves to be guided by it." (2) That this process was followed in later centuries is certain. Isidore Pelusiotes, for instance, says that "Just as grammarians take a stylus and impress the letters with much beauty, and pass them on to the late learners, so that they may imitate them as they best can". (3)

The pupil was practised on the "ὁμογραμμός", writing it again and again and when he thought he had written it successfully he showed it to the teacher. If the teacher found the pupil's writing good he praised him. If not, he indicated his mistakes to him and ordered him to try again with greater attention and zeal than before. In the latter case he used to reproach the pupil and even to punish him, if the teacher understood that the pupil's bad writing was due to laziness rather than

(1) See P. Koussoulos: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 79.

(2) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 30, 4th, ll "To Filio", in Migne P.G. 36, 116 D.

(3) Is. Pelus.: Letters, III, 259 (to Hermogenes, the bishop), in Migne P.G. 78, 937; Life of Methodius of Constantinople, in Migne P.G. 100, 1245.

to poor intelligence, for they believed that the quickness of the child's mind "is chiefly responsible for success in such matters in most cases." (1) Nevertheless, the pupils were accustomed to ask for God's help: "May Christ our Lord, guide me and direct my hand as it holds the pen." (2) In addition, before copying the actual passage assigned, they used to write on top of their tablet the words "testing of pen and ink", for fear of punishment in case they failed to do it well. (3)

The Byzantines paid much attention to the subject of penmanship. Printing was unknown to them and the books in circulation were written by hand; to be easily read they ought to be written in a uniform way. The letters should always be written in the same form and position. Obviously, the rules of good writing were rigid; no innovation was allowed; uniformity was the great merit. But clear and stable character in writing was not enough. Speed was also useful. The teacher, therefore, had to give exercises aiming at the increase of speed in writing, in the later stages of the instruction. He called the pupils to competition in good penmanship by dictating to them a piece of prose, increasing the speed of dictation, as he went on. Such an exercise, however, was an everyday affair in these schools of the next stage, aiming at the preparation of "notarii" - ν ο τ ά ρ ι ο ι - as we shall see below.

Rules of punctuation had also to be followed strictly, since such "a small error often spoils a long speech", according to St. Basil. (4) The pupil's posture while writing, the way of holding the pen, were also matters of concern. No doubt both these demands had some important justification. Those who were to go on studying and become secretaries later on had to stay for hours, days and years writing letters or books. How could they do this for a long period without the fear of losing their health? Under such severe training and supervision the pupil came finally to acquire all the merits of good penmanship, provided he was of at least average intelligence.

(1) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 10 5, 872 B.

(2) Ibid. 865.

(3) Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", p. 49.

(4) St. Basil: Letter 333 (to a notarius), in Migne P.G. 32, 1076 D.

GRAMMAR

Instruction in Grammar was the task of the Grammar School proper and not of the school of "sacred letters". The biographer of Nicolas of Studium writes about him: "But, when advancing in age he practised the introductory learning intelligently and laboriously, it was necessary as well to provide himself with the knowledge of Grammar enough to write correctly." (1) Nevertheless, elements of Grammar were taught in the primary school. No doubt exercises in "correct speech" were done in this school from the beginning of a child's schooling, because the written language differed from the spoken. But instruction of grammar was a task to be done after the pupils had learned reading and writing. A contemporary Byzantine scholar, Stephen Runciman, rates grammar, it is true, as the first subject to taught in the schools of grammatists. (2) Obviously, he takes grammar in a very broad sense, as language study, in which case he is right, of course. Such a study did start from the pupil's first school day.

The teaching material included instruction in the parts of speech, the rules of accentuation, punctuation, orthography, etc. But, of course, in three or four years of elementary instruction in primary school, only simple examination of such topics could be made. The text-books of grammar written at various periods, from the Hellenistic to the end of Byzantine period, were for secondary school boys. The grammatist used them as a guide in his teaching rather than as text-books for his pupils. From those books he could select certain topics, which he taught as simply as possible, avoiding the detailed and troublesome rules or their exceptions; such topics were, for instance, the division of the letters into vowels and consonants, their main categories, the parts of speech, (3) the declensions of nouns and adjectives, the conjugations of verbs, and, in addition, some simple rules of punctuation and accentuation, (4) and of

(1) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 872 A.

(2) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 223.

(3) P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 62.

(4) St. Basil: Letter 333 (to a notarius), in Migne P.G. 32, 1076.

orthography, (1) which was taught in the same way as spelling in English is done. (2)

MUSIC (3)

Music had a noticeable place in the curriculum of the primary school, and it was one of its most popular subjects. There were many sound reasons for this. First, we know that children used to chant at the church services in a form of choir. We are told by the Rule of a convent for women that small girls who were attending lessons in the monastery helped the woman chanter. (4) We also know that in a school under the Emperor's protection, "the Orphanage", the children formed a great choir to chant in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. (5) We understand that much time should be devoted to the instruction in ecclesiastical music in order that pupils might be able to chant properly. This should be done also, because the services were long and not of the same typikon in all cases.

The teaching of music was also recommended first because by chanting the psalms "you might at once delight the soul with singing and gently bewile the labours," (6) and second because of their moral content, as St. Basil (7) and St. John Chrysostom (8) say.

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- (1) H. Psellus: "In praise of Constantine Leichudes", in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. IV, 391.
 - (2) Tryphon E. Evagolidis: "The Greek Schools", p. 56: Examples: Orthography of the word $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$: ϵ pailon, ι jota, σ sigma, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ aspirate breathing, the circumflex accent $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$
 - (3) Eust. Thess.: "On the duty etc." 15, in Migne P.G. 136, 300-301.
 - (4) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 62, footnote 12.
 - (5) Const. Porphyrogennotus: "On the Ceremonies" II, 52, vol. I, p.75(Bonn)
 - (6) St. J. Chrys.: On Col IX, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 362.
 - (7) St. Basil: On Psalm 1, 1, in Migne P.G. 29, 912.B: "He (:the Holy Spirit) intermingled the pleasure of melody in the dogmas, in order that by means of the gentle and smooth impressions of the ear we might without realising it accept what was useful in the words....therefore those musical tunes for the psalms have been devised for us, so that children in years, or rather all who are youthful in character should, while they appear to be singing, in reality be educated in their souls"
 - (8) St. J. Chrys./

For all these reasons, then, the Byzantines were in favour of musical instruction in schools; but, of course, of purely ecclesiastical music. Other songs were learnt and sung outside the school. An exception is seen during the predominance of Iconoclasts, when the psalms by order of the Emperors, as Theodore of Studium writes in one of his letters, gave place to other songs which the teachers were obliged to teach their young pupils. (1) But this lasted for a very short period only. Officially it was the ecclesiastical music that was taught at primary schools, throughout the Byzantine era.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

That religious instruction was one of the most important missions of the primary school is clearly seen from all we have said about primary education: the text-books for reading were ecclesiastical books; practice in writing was also done from these books; the material for the instruction in music was taken from psalms, "troparia" (short hymns), and other kinds of hymns, which were included in the ecclesiastical books; the stories narrated to children were mostly taken out of these books.

In our discussion about pre-school or family education we saw that religious instruction was given to the infants by their parents. Michael Psellus, for instance, says that when he went to bed his mother used to tell him "sometimes about Isaac being led for sacrifice by his father and obeying him in all things, sometimes about Jacob obtaining his father's blessing ..., and sometimes some other divine story." (2) The grammarist then had but to go on with a task so carefully performed by the family long before the child came to school.

(8) contd from previous page

St. J. Chrys.: On Romans, XXVIII, 2, in Migne P.G. 60, 651: "...if we teach the tongue to chant, the soul, wishing the opposite to the chanting (tongue) will be ashamed."; "How Parents etc." 34; Eusebius of Caesarea: "Preparatio Evangelica, XII, 20-21, in Migne P.G. 21, 985-88, where he devotes two whole chapters on the value of music for the children's advancement in virtue.

(1) St. Theodore of Studium: Letters, II, 15 (to the Patriarch of Jerusalem) in Migne P.G. 99, 1164 B.

(2) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 17.

But the need for systematic religious instruction was imposed by the character and the aim of the school of "sacred letters", which was to "bring up a philosopher, and a champion, and a citizen of heavens." (1) Such an upbringing can only be performed successfully, through stories from the Bible, (2) along with the living example of a christian way of life; the teacher, therefore, must keep this in mind all the time and act accordingly. By doing so first we satisfy the child's mind, which "is much delighted to dwell a little upon old stories." (3), second intellectual development takes place, by cultivating the child's judgement, (4) and third we promote the child's moral development on the lines of Christian doctrines, both at the moment of narration and later when we point out the "moral". (5) St. Gregory of Nazianzus, on the other hand, though he recognises that the study of the Scriptures presents difficulties to small children, admits that this study is necessary "for it is just that the wisdom of the Spirit (Holy Ghost) which is from on high, and comes from God, should be mistress of the lower education." (6) Apart from the narration of stories from the Bible, the Byzantine educators recommended the systematic study of several books of it as has already been said. (7)

Method of religious instruction.

As regards the method of religious instruction, the story-telling method was warmly recommended. The procedure to be followed is successfully given by St. John Chrysostom (8) in two well-chosen examples taken from the Old Testament. Story-telling, according to him, ought to take place at the proper moment. The child's parents should tell it "when

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 39.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: On Eph. XXI, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 151.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 39.

(4) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid. 40.

(5) Ibid.

(6) St. Greg. Naz.: Section II, Poems, 8 (to Soloncus), lines 245-47, in Migne P.G. 37, 1593 A.

(7) See above pp. 114-15.

(8) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 39-42

the child is tired from the lessons of the day and their study." Before the narration begins the child must relax and get rid of other thoughts, and be in an atmosphere of gravity and respect towards God. The narration must begin with slow rythm in speech and go on at the same pace. From time to time there must be breaks in order to give the child the opportunity to comprehend what it has been listening to. "And make your discourse sound pleasant, that the child may take delight in what you say lest it becomes tedious." (1) In between certain illustrations ought to be given to help the understanding of the points narrated. Whenever we must come down to the intellectual level of the child this must be done without hesitation. (2) The vocabulary used should be known to the child, and abstract words are never to be used. (3) If the story to be told is quite long for a young child, then a proper point must be found where to stop and go on with the rest on another occasion. Meanwhile, to consolidate the story in the child's mind we must repeat it at reasonable intervals. We must also ask the child to tell us the story, but only after it has been learnt. Then we can discuss its content, to reach the moral. The discussion should take place in a simple way so that the child may understand us well, and we should never terminate in dogmatic aphorisms if we wish it to be of any value to the child.

Our remote aim in story telling should be that children should understand that God knows and sees everything and that we must feel respect for Him and have fear of Him. "If you can do this", St. John goes on, "you need no other pedagogen, since the fear, which the Deity doth thereby work in him, will affect the child beyond every other apprehension whatsoever, and extremely move his mind." (4)

St. John finds another way, too, by which the story will become sufficiently fixed in the child's mind. "You shall lead him to church, especially when the lesson", that is the story taught, "is read" by the Priest. There the child will rejoice because he knows something that

(1) St. J. Chrys.: Ibid 39.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. 40.

others may not know and "understands the words of the minister." (1) No doubt this process should also be followed by the teacher.

To sum up, the teacher ought to have in mind: (a) that the story must be pleasant and easily picked up by the child; (b) that he must not give more difficult notions than those which the child can understand; (c) that he ought to take measures for the consolidation and the retention of the content of the story. The use of questions, the conversation between teacher and pupils, the illustrations which must follow the narration to make its most important points vivid and impressive, and finally the effort to get some "moral" out of it are all means to this end; (d) that every such story must serve the ultimate aim of religious instruction, namely to create a faithful Christian, and advance the pupil towards virtue.

HISTORY

The only clear evidence I have found about history instruction to young children was that given by the archbishop of Acharis Theophylactus, tutor of the prince Constantine Doukas. His mother, he says, had hired a teacher to teach history to her young son. (2) But there are good reasons to believe that ancient Greek history was included in the curriculum of the Byzantine primary school. The Byzantines lived with the past, and the history instruction was dictated by the feeling of tradition and continuity which was very strong among them. The "morals" of history could help them to be aware of the danger coming from those nations that surrounded them and had shown their rapacity, their treachery, etc. towards them. From the educational point of view history instruction is of great value, as St. Basil admits, because it trains the mind to think actively, (3) since from a few hints it makes us think over the rest. We can suppose that from ancient history at least the Persian Wars and the Trojan War were taught to primary school children. (4) Mythology was also

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc." 41.

(2) Theophylactus: "Princely Education" Παρθεσία Βασιλική - in Migne PG. 126, 265.

(3) St. Basil: On Hex. II, 3, in Migne P.G. 29, 33 C.

(4) See for details P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 65.

taught. "Aesop's Fables", for instance, were widely read. We gather this from the fact that myths were taught to children, even of a younger than the school age, and that some Byzantines had attempted revision and simplification of the old myths and their adaptation to the spirit of Christianity. Such is the case with Gregory of Cyprus and Maximus Planudes, (1) for instance. It is also likely that the life of the great Emperors and other personalities, like Basilissarius, were taught to primary school children. But there is no doubt that from "chronographiae" - very popular books to Byzantines - the less educated people could get some information in history matters.

In regard to the method of instruction we should accept that the story-telling method was used, just as in religious instruction, owing to the nature of the subject.

ARITHMETIC OR COUNTING

Instruction in counting was also given by the grammarist. This subject presented special difficulties to the young pupil, however, first because of the symbolic representation of numbers by the letters of the Greek alphabet, and second because of the way the processes in counting were performed. The only advantage here was that in Byzantium the traditional metric system based on units, tens, hundreds, etc. was in use. It was only after the introduction of the Arabic symbols - found out by Indians - that considerable progress in arithmetic could be made. But this happened quite late in the life of Byzantines, during the 12th century. P. Tannery has proved this, thus refuting M. Cantor's view that Arabic figures were introduced in the 14th century in Byzantium. (2) As a matter of fact Maximus Planudes was the first to write a text-book on counting with Arabic figures (at about 1303), under the title 'Ψηφοφορία κατ' Ἰνδοῦς, ἡ λεγομένη μεγάλη' - "Counting the Indian way, the so called great".

(1) M. Chonintou: Letter 144 (to Plevris), in F. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc." vol. II, p. 290; K. Krumbacher G.E.L. 395, vol. III, p. 223.

(2) See for details in D. Cotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences during the Byzantine period.", p. 11 (in Greek).

Nevertheless, counting with the help of fingers was in wide use (1) all the time, and there is no doubt that the grammarist had to introduce this system of counting to his pupils. A late Byzantine writer, Nicolas Rabdas, in an essay written at the beginning of the 15th century gives his instructions on how to make calculations with fingers on numbers from 1 to 9,999. (2) The Rabdas wrote such an essay a century or so after Planudes had written his book on arithmetic, and three centuries after the Byzantines had first become acquainted with Arabic symbols, was a proof that the old system of counting with fingers, despite its defects, had strong influence on the everyday life of Byzantines. This indication gains more value if one remembers that Nicolas Rabdas edited at the same time Maximos Planudes' work with additions and improvements on its content.

But how this counting with fingers as well as instruction in this way of counting was done in the schools of primary education? First, as regards the meaning of numbers the teacher co-related the number to be taught with a phrase containing this same number, (3) for example:

1. - O n e God only
2. - T w o little eyes
3. - T h r e e in the Holy Trinity, etc.

This device aimed at helping the pupils to form concepts of the numbers and shows clearly the effort on the part of the grammarists somehow to improve their methods of teaching arithmetic. As for actual counting the fingers or pebbles ($\psi \eta \varphi \theta \iota$) were used. Each pupil had his abacus ($\alpha \beta \acute{\alpha} \kappa \iota \sigma \upsilon$), a slab or board on which he put the pebbles when the teacher called him with the others for counting lessons. As for the use of the fingers we know that according to the position given to them they meant either units or tens, etc. In this connection Nicolas Rabdas's description is very illuminating: "You will hold the numbers in your hands thus. In your left hand you must always keep the units and tens, and in your right the hundreds and thousands; and larger numbers than these you must write down on something; for you will not be able to hold them in

(1) St. Greg. Naz.: Section II, poem 28 (Adversus opum amantes) lines 116-17, in Migne P.G. 37, 865.

(2) See D. Cotsakis: "The Sciences during the last three centuries in Byzantium", p. 14. (in Greek).

(3) Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", p. 56.

your hands. Then, crooking your first or little finger, the one known as 'the short-sighted', and holding the four others up straight, you will have in your left hand one unit, in your right one thousand. Again, crooking both this finger and the second one next to it, the one known as 'the next to the middle' or 'the rider', with the remaining three as we said extended, you will have two in your left hand, two thousand in your right" (1). Written calculations, on the other hand, were represented by letters with special words indicating that this was a calculation, or in numerous cases by words only. In patristic works one has the opportunity to see this happening very often. In the latter way confusion and mistakes could easily be avoided: for instance, the multiplication $5 \times 2 = 10$ was written as "κ έ ν τ ε δ ί ς . . . δ έ κ α - "five times two makes ten". (2) And the "tato seems to approve of written calculations with words instead of with letters alone. (3) Addition or the other processes should be done with reference to the objects counted and not in an abstract way. (4)

During instruction in counting the pupils were invited to take seats near the blackboard and the grammarist or one of his assistants - that is one of the best pupils he could use to help him - addressed individual questions to the pupils. The pupil asked could use either his fingers or his pebbles in his effort to give the right answer. This is important from the methodological point of view, because it shows the use of visual aids in counting on which so much modern methodology of teaching always insists. If the pupil gave a correct answer a second question was usually addressed to him and then the examination proceeded to the next pupil and so on; if it was wrong the rest of the class gave the right answer in chorus.

The topics taught were the four processes (namely, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division). A fundamental rule in counting, of interest in the history of lower mathematics perhaps, was the "rule of six thousand" - κ'ανδὸν τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων -, as St. John Chrysostom

(1) Quoted by D. Cottrakis in his essays: "The Sciences during the last three centuries in Byzantium", p. 14.

(2) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 26, II, "On Theology", in Migne P.G. 36, 37.

(3) Justinian's Digest - Introduction, 13

(4) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 31, On the Holy Spirit, in Migne P.G. 36, 153.

informs us: "Among the calculators", he says, "there is the number of six thousands, to which all things can be reduced, and everything can be divided and multiplied in the scale of six thousand." St. John assures us for the common use of this strange rule. "This (rule) is known to all who are acquainted with arithmetic." (1) This rule owed its value to the fact that the number sixty (60) - of which the number six thousand (6,000) is a multiple - has a very large range of divisors which, of course, are also divisors of six thousand (6,000), which has many more divisors than sixty (60). No doubt, however, that in practice this rule was not so easy to learn and apply.

In general, skill in counting with fingers was hard to acquire. To understand this by the measures which the State used to take against those who being experts in counting by the fingers used to cheat their less experienced fellow-men dealing with them. The following testimony may prove it clearly enough. Dendrenus, a Byzantine writer, writes about the Emperor Leo the Wise that "seeing that the wicked have an occasion for wrongdoing in the abbreviations of fractions, I mean a half, a sixth, a twelfth, etc. (when they are written in old signs) he wanted to take away such an occasion from those who wanted to do wrong and he ordered them to write such signs in simple writing so that it would be easy even for countrymen to read them." And he goes on to add the very important piece of information that "the Emperor himself defrayed the cost of the paper and of the writing." (2) This information shows two important things; first, that because of the difficulties of the system used in counting the wicked very often cheated their less educated fellow-men, and second, the Emperor's personal interest to impose justice in business among his subjects.

(1) St. J. Chrys.: On Timothy II, VIII, 4, in Migne P.G. 62, 647.

(2) Notae De Novellis Constitutionibus Leonis sapientis haec ex Codrono habet Bonafidius Jur. Orient., I, p. 12 §, in Migne P.G. 107, 421 D.

LIFE IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

We shall close the chapter on Primary Education by sketching the school life in the schools of "sacred letters", with the help of the information available. During the Byzantine period we do not have the ancient $\kappa\alpha\lambda\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\rho\alpha$ - "palestra" - to occupy the children for part of the day. Neither does the Byzantine "didaskaleion" keep the time table of its ancient brother. On the contrary taking the opportunity of the lack of any other type of school for children of five to ten years old, it extends its activity to cover the whole day. (1)

The primary school children had to get up very early in the morning, and go to school alone carrying with them their school-bags with the necessary school things in them, such as the abacus, pens, pebbles, small pamphlets, etc. (2) The teacher, on the other hand, waited for them in the classroom having arrived there earlier. As soon as all pupils arrived at school the lessons started, after the morning prayers to God, and stopped at noon in order that pupils could go home for lunch. (3) The situation of the younger children at school is vividly described by St. John: "They do not dare go home before midday, but although they are scarcely weaned and not yet five years old, they display all endurance in their young and tender body. In spite of heat, thirst and other annoyance they endure till midday, and labour in their seats at school.."(4) Soon after their lunch the pupils returned to school to go on with their afternoon classes till sunset. (5)

Instruction was given in rooms of the church or in cells of the monasteries or in common rooms, since there were no special school buildings at that period. (6) The State's interest in school buildings was mainly expressed in higher public education proper, with the exception

(1) Theodore Balsamon: Answer to question 41: quoted by Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", p. 40.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: "How Parents etc.", 73.

(3) St. Greg. Nyssa: "De castigatione", in Migne P.G. 46, 312A

(4) St. J. Chrys.: "In illud Saulus adhuc spirans. De mutatione nominum II", 1, in Migne P.G. 51, 125.

(5) See Analecta Bollandiana, vol. 41, p. 299, 6; also P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines" vol. X, I, p. 74.

(6) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 869 C.

of State and Church run orphanages, perhaps, where the housing conditions were better. (1) The setting of the classroom was quite simple. In it there was always the teacher's desk - ὁ διδασκαλικὸς θρόνος (2). The pupils usually sat down on the floor upon sheep-skins, (3) or on stools (4). In a special place in the classroom were put the books to be studied by the pupils or used by the teacher, and in another place the black-board, which was an indispensable school equipment from the older times.

In regard to the program and time-table of lessons in such schools, every teacher was free to occupy his pupils as he thought best and most suitable to him; naturally he had to follow some program in his work, and some order in the lessons to be taught. But the information we have is not as clear as we should like it to be. The Byzantine educators seem to have somehow concerned themselves with this problem, too. St. Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria, discussing the subjects to be taught to young boys as novices in convents, suggests that some order - as well as certain kind of material fitted to the purpose of the school - must exist to enable the pupils to profit from their schooling in the monastery and advance in virtue. (5)

In all probability the school work started with reading; then instruction in writing, arithmetic, etc. followed. Obviously this could only happen with one class at a time while the other classes did silent work repeating or preparing their lessons, perhaps under the guidance of the pupils-assistants. Because of the character of the school of "sacred letters" and the books used, religious instruction was introduced at any time. The same thing happened with ecclesiastical music. Provided that the children formed a chorus and sang psalms etc. in the church, the teacher gave them sufficient practice in chanting. And the fact that singing brought some relief from the labour of the other lessons suggests that music was taught more than once a day.

(1) See above p. 83.

(2) St. J. Chrys.: On Romans 29, 1, in Migne P.G. 60, 654; Is. Folus.: Letters, III, 259 (to Hermogenes, the bishop), in Migne P.G. 78, 940; John of Climax: "Ladder of Paradise", grad. VII, 151, in Migne P.G. 88, 805.

(3) Nicetas Choniates: On Isaac Angelus, III, 5 (Βοηη) p. 576, 14.

(4) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", pp. 46-7.

(5) St. Athanasius: To Cantor, letter I, 2-4, in Migne P.G. 28, 852-56; also St. Basil: "The Longer Rules", XV, 3, in Migne P.G. 31, 953.

There were naturally breaks from time to time, though not at regular intervals; but the little pupils did not enjoy them, since they always had something to do related to their classes: either to study a new lesson or to repeat the old ones for better consolidation, or to study the Bible⁽¹⁾

From the examination of the methods of teaching of various subjects we understand that they were not always in accordance with the suggestions given by the Byzantine educators to the practising teachers. They spoke of teaching through things and by means of visual and other aids, of activity on the part of the pupil, of exploiting the pupil's interests during instruction. In practice, however, methods favouring passivity in learning as based upon rote memory were in wide use. (2) A great deal also was based on the child's tendency for imitation. However, the results from this practice were not always the expected ones. In such cases the teachers had to find out other ways for making the pupils learn their lessons. Many of them found recourse to the repetition of the same things many times, thus creating disgust for learning, or to the creation of fear in the child through threatening and punishment. (3)

The school of the same standard of pre-Byzantine era, characterised by severe discipline, (4) still exists in Byzantium in many ways. We should expect a tendency for a more mild discipline, owing to Christian teaching and influence, and the continuous appeal of the Byzantine educators for a lesser use of punishment. But things show that teachers on the whole did make abuse of punishment, and, what is even worse, of corporal punishment. What has already been said above (pp. 72-75) proves our point, I think. Anyway, whenever parents insisted that their children should learn at school, the children had to obey and suffer anything, since there was no other alternative for them. St. Gregory of Nyssa's testimony shows it clearly: "The child", he says, "follows the teacher's instruction in every way and if it is beaten at all for laziness it does not defy the blow nor does it break its tablets on the teacher and go away. But for

(1) Symeon Metaphrastes: "Life of St. John Calybites" 4, in Migne P.G. 114, 569.

(2) Eust. Thess.: "On the duty etc." 16, in Migne P.G. 136, 301 A.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: On Timothy II, 6, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 532.

(4) See H.I. Harrou: "History of Education in Antiquity", Part II, ch. VI, pp. 158-59 and Part III, ch. VI, pp. 272-73.

a little time wiping the bitter tear caused by the blow it applies itself to the lessons and becomes more attentive about its work and not so careless. Again, on another occasion having neglected its work in a youthful manner it is told to stay without food and it is condemned to hunger for its laziness, and it remains alone in the school when the others go off for lunch observing the command with much care." (1) Apart from the kinds of punishment referred to in this quotation other punishments were also used, such as slaps, beating by the rod, whipping, etc. And all this because it was believed that in this way laziness and carelessness of pupils could effectively be faced. (2) So mercilessly the teachers used to beat these pupils that the other children trembled with fear any time the teacher was beating a disobedient pupil in their presence. (3) This brutal behaviour of the teacher towards his pupils is the great stigma of the educational system in Byzantium. The unfortunate thing is that this practice went on after the Byzantine period, too, in fact it survived up to my own school days - that is up to the first decades of this century - in Greece. And what is even stranger perhaps is that parents were as a rule allies to the teachers in matters of punishment. They not only encouraged their child's teacher to beat it, (4) but also applied further punishment to it in the case it showed idleness or disobedience in school. This practice was no doubt responsible for another sad fact; a great percentage of school children used to leave their school for ever because of fear of punishment, (5) while another considerable

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- (1) St. Greg. Nyssa: "De castigatione", in Migne P.G. 46, 308-12;
St. J. Chrys.: Speech 28, "On Oaths", in Migne P.G. 63, 772.
- (2) H. Fuellus: "Encomium to his daughter", in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, pp. 65-66.
- (3) St. J. Chrys.: On Timothy I, speech VI, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 532;
"How Parents etc." 39.
- (4) St. J. Chrys.: On the Statues XVI, 4, in Migne P.G. 49, 168;
On Matthew, 55, 1, in Migne P.G. 58, 542.
- (5) Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Creek Schools", pp. 49-51; P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantines", 97-8, 100-4; see also D. Xanatalos: "The Schools in Byzantium", p. 17 whence the following anecdote is taken: A young pupil was once beaten hard by his teacher at the vestibule of the church used as a school; next day he could not avoid going to school for fear of punishment by his parents, but he was so scared that instead of staying at the vestibule and listening to the lesson he hid himself behind the altar where he slept; so soundly did he sleep that only late in the afternoon he was discovered by the priest - snoring loudly. The child was so frightened that he left both home and school and became a monk.

percentage never entered it. So a large number of the Byzantines remained with no education at all. This happened up to the beginning of the present century in Greek schools, as the older persons who remained illiterate assure us.

But, of course, one must not stay with the impression that this was the case with every parent and teacher. We have good and affectionate teachers, too, as well as parents who showed an understanding of the conditions under which the children had to live while at school. Many parents - able to do so - helped their children with preparation of their lessons and the fulfilment of school demands instead of punishing them for ignorance. Thus when the child returned from school they used to ask him what new things he had been taught and then went on to help him with his homework and study. We have case like that of Psellus's mother, who used to stay by his side till late at night helping or attending him in his studies. (1) Furthermore, the parents used to be in touch with the child's teacher, while the conscientious teacher never omitted his duty to inform the family about the child's progress at school. Especially in the case of idle children the teacher would come in touch with their parents either by visiting them or - which was more usual - by sending them letters or records of school performance and conduct. Theodoro Myrtacenus, for instance, who was the teacher of Theodore Motoschites's son, wrote to Motoschites a letter in which with great tact and courtesy he was complaining against the permanent idleness and bad conduct of his son. (2)

Nevertheless, there were pupils showing natural zeal and interest in letters, and, of course, there was no need to apply any kind of punishment in such cases. "My lesson was not merely easy but pleasant beyond any other pastime," Psellus says. "Indeed I was distressed if my play was not study and my study play: not because I played at the one and was zealous at the other, but because I clung to study because it was pleasant, and shrank from play because it was rough." (3) In addition, we have

(1) H. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. V, p. 21; St. J. Chrys.: On John 25, 1, in Nigro P.G. 59, 147.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 204, vol. II, p. 153.

(3) H. Psellus: Ibid, p. 12.

we have other cases of pupils, who, despite the cruel behaviour of the teacher, recognised that this was done for their own benefit, thus bearing them with patience and perseverance. (1)

However, such cases were exceptions from the rule; we can say without hesitation that the child's life in the primary school throughout the Byzantine era was hard, without the joy of childhood, which is so common a thing in our schools nowadays. For this reason we are not surprised at St. Basil's statement that "These very small children who leave their tablets at school and ^{together} shout with us, go about the business rather as a relaxation and delight, making a festival of our distress since they are freed for a short time from the burdens laid on them by the teacher and thought for their lessons." (2) That such opportunities were welcome by the young school children is explained by the fact that in primary school curriculum there was no room for physical training, play and other recreative activities and rest. At times we hear the protest of physicians mainly against such a practice, but all in vain. The famous physician Oribasius tried to draw the attention of his contemporaries to the truth that "it is not necessary to press the young pupils too much during the whole school day; we must", he insists, "increase the time of their play"(3) Though the school of "Sacred letters" absorbed the time that children of pre-Byzantine times spent in the 'palestra' it left no room for physical training. In fact we find some Church Fathers recommending physical exercise for children, but it was never done in the school. St. Basil, for instance, suggest that the children should get physical exercise, though moderate. (4) Furthermore instruction in physical training was not included in the curriculum of primary school. The Byzantine primary school, as we have seen, aimed at the moral and intellectual development of the child and the creation of "good Christians". The child's task during the entire school session was nothing but study. (5) That is why the young pupils looked forward to vacation time. It was only during holidays that they

(1)Eust. Thess.: "On the memory etc." 28, 102, in Migne EG. 136, 428 A, 492 B-C.

(2)St. Basil: Speech VIII, "Homilia dicta tempore famis et neccitatis", 3, in Migne P.G. 31, 309 C.

(3) Quoted by P.Koukoules/"Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p75

(4)St. Basil: Speech XXI "Quod rebus mundanis adhaerendum non sit", 4, 6, in Migne P.G. 31, 548-49.

(5)St. J.Chrys.: On Matthew V, 1, in Migne P.G. 57, 55; On John 25, 1, in Migne P.G. 59, 147.

could play freely, away from the duties of the school and their strict teacher. In fact that was the only chance they had for a sound physical exercise through free play. (1)

As for the girls of the same age, they could not have the same freedom as the boys in their outdoor games. Agathias quotes the complaint of a girl, who says that

"It is not for us even to see the light,
but we are hidden away in houses,
wasted away by dark thoughts..." (2)

While at school the girls played mostly at home, even in their late childhood with dolls, and other suitable games such as the "five stones" (πεντάλιθα) etc., during vacation.

Another testimony by Choricus must be quoted here for its manifold educational interest: "To allow the pupils to enjoy a little relief (from lessons), either when some public festival is being held, or in fulfilment of a new book by a pupil, whereby it is laid down that the teacher is to get one golden piece, and to give rest for one day to the young pupil and those who come from the same class in the school." (3) From the above quotation we gather much useful information. We see here that the young pupils looked forward to any holiday as a time for relief from school pains; then, that the lessons stopped whenever a local festival took place or when a pupil completed a book and went to the next. In this latter case the teacher was given a gold coin as an extra reward - which was dictated by law - and the pupil with his class-mates had a day off, because of the happy event. Of course, this happy event was not just that the pupil finished a book, but that by doing so he was automatically promoted to the next

grade of the school. It was then a just act for the whole class to celebrate the event. In fact this special custom (4) survived up to the beginning of the twentieth century in some remote provinces of Greece and Greek speaking areas, especially in Pontus in Asia Minor.

(1) St. J. Chrys.: "In illud, Saulus adhuc spirans. De mutatione nominum I", in Migne P.G. 51, 115; Agathias: Epigrams, 26 (V, 297, 5) vol I (Bonn) p. 370.

(2) Agathias: Epigram V, 297, 7-9, Ibid. p. 370.

(3) Quoted by P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantium", vol. A, I, p. 94.

(4) Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", pp. 52, 59.

CHAPTER IV
SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Those Byzantines who passed through elementary education and wished to acquire further education could do so in Byzantium. This education could be either secular or religious or both. It was dependent on the ambitions and the plans which the parents had made for the career of their children, on their financial position, on the educational facilities of their time, and on the children themselves.

In Byzantium we have two kinds of education given separately the one from the other, namely the "secular or profane education" - ἑξωθεν or θύραθεν παιδεία - and the religious education - κατ' ἑμὴν or ἡμετέραν παιδεία. Those who wanted the first had to attend the schools of "encyclion paedeia", namely the school of Grammar, then the school of Rhetoric and finally the higher schools on a University level. Those who were intended for an ecclesiastical career could first finish with their "encyclion paedeia" if their parents allowed it, and then follow theological studies, or go after the study of the "sacred letters" under the patronage of the Church officials or educated priest or monks, according to the circumstances, to receive a purely religious education.

As regards the evaluation of the education given by the schools of encyclion and religious paedeia we observe that those who finished only the grammar school were not considered adequately educated. However, such knowledge helped the graduates of the grammar school to get some job, that is to become secretaries, notarii, copyists, etc. The graduates of Rhetoric were thought of as adequately educated and had many opportunities for a better career as state servants or churchmen. Those who could pursue their studies further studying philosophy were thought of as the really educated persons (1) and were esteemed by everyone in Byzantium. The study of philosophy was always valued so extremely highly that the very learned men openly recommended it to their Emperors, if the latter wished to be real

(1) Theodoro Prodromus: Scripta Miscellanea: "In eos qui ob paupertatem providentiae conviciantur" in Higne P.G. 133, 1297 B.

rulers in every respect, (1) and many Emperors agreed to this. (2) From a religious point of view those who were initiated in the study of the Bible and of the patristic works were also considered highly educated. Generally, however, all Byzantines, the State and the Church officials considered as the most educated persons those who had received a complete secular and religious education. (3) The respect of all Byzantines, for instance, towards the Great Fathers of the 4th century and afterwards was obviously due to a great extent to this fact. Before we enter into the examination of the various types of schools of "encyclion paideia", however, we should, I think, see what "encyclion paideia" meant to the Byzantines - in what sense it was used.

We are met with the term "encyclion paideia" in the works of Byzantine writers very often. At first glance one is tempted to state that by "encyclion paideia" is meant all the "secular or profane learning." In fact, in some instances this is the case; in this sense the term is used to denote the seven liberal arts - the trivium (grammar, rhetoric and dialectics) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music) - and something more than that perhaps. (4) This was the case in 4th century. But even so we have the same term used in a more narrow sense, during the same period, as one sees in the following quotation from the life of St. Macrina, sister of St. Basil; her mother "was zealous to educate her daughter but not however in this external and encyclion paideia, which for the most part pupils of the first grades (of secondary education) are taught by means of poems". (5) Here by the term "encyclion paideia" is meant grammar and poetics only. Distinction between human

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- (1) Nic. Blommydes: "What a King should be like", 1, in Migne P.G. 142, 613 B; Thomas Magister: "De Regis Officiis" 30, in Migne P.G. 145, 496.
 - (2) Theodoro Lascaris: "De communione naturali", Speech V, 2, in Migne P.G. 140, 1344.
 - (3) See above pp. 17-25; St. Greg. Naz.: ^{speech 43,} "In praise of Basil" 12, in Migne P.G. 36, 509.
 - (4) Anonymous comments on the speeches of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, in Migne P.G. 36, 914 C: "Ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν φασὶ καὶ τὴν καθόλου εἶναι οἷον γραμματικὴν, ῥητορικὴν, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μαθηματικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔπος εἶρεῖν τέχνην καὶ ἐπιστήμην"; See G. Buckler in Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VII on "Byzantine Education", pp. 205-6.
 - (5) St. Greg. Naz.: "Life of St. Macrina", in Migne P.G. 46, 961 C.

wisdom and "encyclios paedeia" is also made by the biographer of St. John of Damascus who says that John's teacher said to his father about himself: "I pursued all human wisdom and as a foundation of this I laid the encyclios paedeia." (1) In other cases grammar comes before "encyclios paedeia", after which come rhetoric and philosophy. (2) We have cases where the term is used to mean the study of Grammar and Rhetoric as contrasted to the study of philosophy, which was thought of as the crown of "encyclios paedeia". (3) Michael Psellus, on the other hand, in grading the stages of education in three put the "encyclios paedeia" before the study of grammar and after grammar he put the higher education, (4) which according to him is the study of rhetoric and of philosophy. Probably this was the case with those who studied grammar on a higher level. Michael Choniates also discriminates between "encyclios paedeia" and the other studies (5) placing it before sophistry and philosophy. But the same writer in the same funeral speech gives the term a very broad sense when he says: "Do you, too, attend Grammar, with your company, so far as it is encyclios". (6) George Acropolites again seems to use the term to mean more than the teaching of grammar when he says about Arsenius, who became archbishop at Nicaea, that he had studied "a little of the encyclia (mathemata), so as not to seem to be altogether inexperienced in such things." (7) However, Acropolites, speaking about his own education, states clearly that by "encyclios paedeia" is meant the study in grammar schools "I was sent to the Emperor (he means John Batatzes of Nicaea) at the age of sixteen, by now released from encyclios paedeia, which most call grammar." (8)

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- (1) Life of St. John of Damascus, 9, in Migne P.G. 94, 441.
 - (2) Symeon Metaphrastes: Life of St. John Chrysostom, 1, in Migne P.G. 114, 1049.
 - (3) See G. Buckler in Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VII on "Byzantine Education", p. 218.
 - (4) M. Psellus: "Encomium to John, bishop of Euchaita" in K. Sathas, B.C.H. vol. V, p. 147; G. Buckler, Ibid., p. 206.
 - (5) M. Choniates: "Monodia in Eustathium Thessalonicensis", 8, in Migne P.G. 140, 340 D.
 - (6) M. Choniates: Ibid., 353 C.
 - (7) G. Acropolites: "Annals" 84, in Migne P.G. 140, 1208 A.
 - (8) G. Acropolites: Ibid., 29, in Migne Ibid. 1052 C.

From all this selective evidence we see that the term "encyclion paedeia" had not always the same meaning in Byzantium. It was a loose term used to express an ideal rather than a definite number of school subjects, because in its specific use it never meant the same thing. In its free use, however, it might be taken as meaning the profane or general education provided through the curriculum of the Seven Liberal Arts - trivium and quadrivium. Indeed those who aimed at a general education had to pass through the following stages:

- (a) The pupil had to attend lessons in Grammar, then
- (b) Lessons in Rhetoric, and
- (c) to attend studies of a University level - in philosophy, law, medicine sciences, etc.

In regard to religious education it normally came after the pupil had finished his Grammar School, run by individuals or by the Church alike. For higher theological studies the Orthodox Byzantine Church was running a higher school at Constantinople - the Oecumenical College - but, as we have already seen (1) many learned religious personalities, bishops etc., could keep seminars for the study of the Bible and of theology.

Before we come to the examination of the various stages of secondary and higher education it is interesting to know the ideas of Byzantines on general education and specialised studies. Were the Byzantines in favour of the former or of the latter kind of education? In many texts the view is supported that a sound general knowledge is what one, who likes to be educated, can aim at. Elsewhere again the need for specialisation is put forward. But let us examine the question in some detail.

The Byzantines used to admire those learned men who had a whole round education. ⁽²⁾ Such men could succeed in gaining a good career as well as in climbing to the highest State and Church offices very easily. Teachers, therefore, had to conform to this reality and provide the students with a very sound general knowledge. In fact this task started from the moment the pupil entered the grammar school. The "grammarian" tried to give his pupils a good command of Greek and at the same time to introduce them to the realm of the seven liberal arts, though on an elementary level. The

(1) See above p. 91.

(2) M. Psellus: "In praise of Cerularius", in K. Sathas: B.G.M. vol. IV, pp. 332-33.

same thing happened in the schools of rhetoric with one difference that the initiation in the seven liberal arts could be - and was - somehow deeper than before. But the same phenomenon was to be seen in university studies as well, despite the specialisation which had to be given to the students. We know, for instance, that Michael Psellus, apart from the ordinary university subjects in rhetoric and philosophy he was teaching at the University of Constantinople, had regular hours for the discussion of questions by his students on any topic they wished to be informed in. (1) The enrichment of encyclopaedic knowledge was recommended by most Byzantine erudite men, though there were others who were in favour of the strictly useful, like Cecaumenus. (2)

But, of course, no one could learn all things so as to become an "omniscient"; erudition had its limits. Yet everyone had to stop being a student sometime and acquire a profession to earn his living. To do so he had to specialise somewhere, to choose a field in which to be an expert following his natural tendencies (3) and interests and his aims in life as well. Thus we arrive at the need for specialisation. In fact we have many cases of specialised persons and many more recommendations for specialisation. Isidore Polusistes, for example, in a letter to the sophist Harpocras writes: "A man who studies one art must have achieved the highest degree of accuracy in it. For those who devote themselves to many arts, even if they seem to know many, will not reach perfection in all. Indeed to speak accurately, their grasp of all of them will be incomplete and immature. And even if they seem to have an advantage by knowing many, they are at a disadvantage because they lack perfection in each art." (4)

We have mentioned elsewhere (5) the cases of Michael Psellus and his friend Xiphilinus, who tried to exchange their specialisation so as to broaden still more their general knowledge - Psellus in law and John Xiphilinus in Rhetoric. Michael Choniates advocates the specialisation

(1) See D. Xannlatos: "The Schools in Byzantium", p. 13.

(2) Cecaumenus: Strategicon, 46, 75.

(3) Thomas Magister: "De Subditorum Officiis", 23, in Migne P.G. 145, 540.

(4) Is. Polus.: Letters, V, 380 (to Harpocras), in Migne P.G. 78, 1553-56; see also St. Dorotheos: "Helpful Teachings" 10, 2, in Migne P.G. 88, 1726 C.

(5) See above p. 79.

instead of the superficial study of many things. (1)

Those who were preparing themselves for the job of a teacher were faced with difficulties, of course, because they ought to have a sound background of knowledge and at the same time be specialists in one or more fields. This specialisation had to be much greater as the teacher proceeded from the lower to the upper stages of education. The university teachers mainly had to be well and broadly educated men apart from their specialisation, because of the existing custom of paying attention to the erudition of a person as an index of his authority.

In some cases the problem of a teacher's specialisation found its solution naturally. This could happen in those schools where more than one teachers were working together. Every teacher there could take some subjects of the curriculum and year after year specialise in them. Taking as an example a grammar school, one teacher could deal only with the instruction of grammar, another with the instruction of poets and prose writers, and a third with the instruction of shorthand. No need to say that specialisation was very common in higher education. (2) From many sources we know that in the University of Constantinople there were several chairs (3) and that in each one of them there was a specialist professor with his assistants. The same thing is true with the Oecumenical School (4) of Constantinople, or with the hospitals (5) run by the State or the monasteries.

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- (1) M. Choniates: "To those pretending not to be fond of display", 9, "You devote yourself to many learned trifles and are always bent over your books and muttering into them; you are generally thirsty and journey unwashed, giving up nothing yet of your learned study. You ought in other ways to imitate those of the famous of whom one undertakes one literary task and one another. For one directs a school of grammarians, another expounds the sacred books and teaches the congregation; another is an under-secretary.....", in S. Lambros: "Mich. 'com. etc.", vol. I, p. 10;
- (2) M. Psellus: Encomium to John, bishop of Euchaita", in K. Patas D.C.M. vol. V, p. 147.
- (3) Codex Theodosianus XIV, 9, 3; Cedrenus: "Synopsis of Histories", vol. II p. 326 (Bonn); Theophanes Continuatus, p. 192 (Bonn); etc.
- (4) O. Codinus: "Book of Offices", ch. I, p. 5 (Bonn).
- (5) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 238, where reference is made to the variety of specialised doctors and assistants in the hospital of Pantocrator Monastery in the 12th century.

Although specialisation was a need and a fact, yet Byzantines never ceased being in favour of liberal education aiming at the acquisition of virtue in the Christian sense: "The only true education", Eusebius of Caesarea says, repeating Plato's words, (1) "is that which promotes virtue, not that which aims at money-making or any occupation for gaining a livelihood ... But the education which aims from the beginning at virtue, making the boy desire and love to become a perfect citizen, learning how to rule and be ruled under a just system. This nurture alone, I think, we would wish to call education. But that which is aimed at wealth or power or at any skill devoid of intellect and judgement, we would consider low and illiberal, and not worth calling education at all ...".(2)

SCHOOLS OF GRAMMAR

These schools constituted the first stage of post-primary education in Byzantium. Everyone who wished to make his career as a layman or as a clergyman ought in the first place to know the Greek language. The school grammar did this task; it had "to hellenise the tongue" of the pupil. (3) Such an instruction formed the foundation of all further study. Michael Psellus says that "grammar was considered as a basic subject in all education from old times". (4) Michael Choniates also speaks about "

", meaning by this that the study of grammar preceded any other study. (5)

Except for the instruction in language the grammar school provided other knowledge for the general or encyclopaedic education of the pupils, thus, being in agreement with the spirit of the times favouring erudition. On the whole, however, the Grammar Schools had a philological character, just like the equivalent school of the Hellenistic era.

(1) Laws 644 A.

(2) Eusebius of Caesarea: *Preparatio Evangelica*: XII, 18, in *Migne P.G.* 21, 981.

(3) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 43 "In praise of St. Basil", 23, in *Migne P.G.* 36, 528 A.

(4) M. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Sathas *B.O.M.* vol. V, p. 90.

(5) H. Choniates: "In praise of his brother Nicetas", in S. Lambros: "*Nich. Acom. etc.*" vol. I, p. 347, 17.

The pupil entered the grammar school at the age of nine or ten. Of course, there were pupils who started at a later age. George Acropolites, for instance, started when he was thirteen and finished when sixteen. (1) From this evidence we are also informed that the study in the Grammar School lasted for three years; it could last four years, as well. We do not know whether we had co-education in grammar schools. We do know, however, that girls also of well-to-do families could receive instruction in grammar at home by private tutors or by their learned parents. (2)

This type of education - just as the study in the school of rhetoric - was the concern of parents and guardians of the pupils, and of the pupils themselves as well. They had to find the teachers of grammar - the "grammaticus" or "grammarian" (3) - who were private teachers, receiving fees for their services. (4) The agreement on the amount of money for fees was reached between parents and teachers. Well-to-do parents could take these teachers as tutors of their children at home, but this was the exception. In the majority of the cases the pupils attended lessons in schools, usually housed in the teacher's home. (5)

Because of the system of reward the teachers of grammar always felt financially insecure and expressed their complaints that they could not live in dignity from delivering lessons in grammar. Such were the cases of Theodore Prodromus, Michael Glycas, Theodore Hyrtacenus, and others. Krumbacher referring to the latter says that he used to beg "the ungrateful and haughty parents of his pupils, as well as his old pupils, to give him food and clothes." (6) Almost the same complaints are expressed by John Tzetzes who did the "grammarian" for a certain period. (7) Nevertheless,

(1) G. Acropolites: "Annals", 29, in Migne P.G. 140, 1052.

(2) Socrates: Eccl. Hist. VII, 15 and 21, in Migne P.G. 67, 768 and 784 B; Sozomenos: Eccl. Hist. IX, 1, in Migne P.G. 67, 1593 B; Gregoras VIII, 3, vol. I (Bonn), pp. 293-94; Phrantzes: History, p. 139 (Bonn).

(3) We must remember, however, that the name of "grammaticus" was given to the royal secretaries as well. See K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 122 and 156, vol. I, pp. 564, 774.

(4) Theodore Balsamon: Answer to question 41, quoted by Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools" p. 40; Leo the Wise: 'Εκαρχία καὶ Βιβλίον, 16.

(5) Theophanes Continuatus pp. 185-86 (Bonn).

(6) K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 204, vol. II. p. 153.

(7) K. Krumbacher Ibid, 219, vol. II, p. 238.

neither the parents stopped going to the "grammarians" and paying fees to have their children instructed in grammar, nor did "grammarians" abandon their profession.

The teachers of grammar could work anywhere in the Byzantine Empire, provided that there were pupils ready to attend and pay them. Good grammarians could move to other more profitable places; in many cases they had to do so because of war events. It is not surprising then that under such circumstances the function of grammar schools in the provinces was not continuous. This also indicates why it is very difficult to give a definite answer to the question as to the number of grammar schools and private grammarians at various places and times during the Byzantine era. The sources at our disposal do not help us to form a clear and specific picture on this matter.

We have evidence that there were grammar schools during the 4th century functioning: in Caesarea of Cappadocia, where St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzus took their first secondary education; (1) in Antioch, where St. John Chrysostom (2) received his grammar training; in Palaestina, Egypt, Athens, and other places, and naturally in the capital of the Empire. (3) Macarius of Egypt, speaking about primary school teachers, says that in the towns where there are orators and "scholastikoi" - another name for teachers of *encyclion paedeia* - the former stay in the background. This evidence supports the view that such teachers did exist in towns during his days. (4)

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- (1) Life of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, by Gregorius Presbyter, in Migne P.G. 35, 248 C; Thomas Magister: "Speech on St. Gregory of Nazianzus" 17, in Migne P.G. 145, 233.
 - (2) Symeon Metaphrastes: "Life of St. John Chrysostom", 1, in Migne P.G. 114, 1049 D-C; G. Cedrenus: "Synopsis of Histories", p. 577 (Bonn).
 - (3) Theodoretus: Ecol. Hist. IV, 26, in Migne P.G. 82, 1189 D; St. Greg. Naz.: Speech VII, "In praise of Caesarius", 7, in Migne P.G. 35, 761; Speech 43 "In praise of Basil" 14, 23, in Migne P.G. 36, 513, 528; Symeon Metaphrastes: Life of St. John Chrysostom, 2, in Migne P.G. 114, 1049 C-D; Procopius of Gaza: Panegyric to Anastasius, in Migne P.G. 87, 3085; Socrates: Ecol. Hist. IV, 9, in Migne P.G. 67, 480 A; Sozomenos: Ecol. Hist. VI, 9, in Migne P.G. 67, 1317 A.
 - (4) Macarius of Egypt: "Homiliae Spirituales": Speech 26, 17, in Migne P.G. 34, 685.

During the 5th century we also find grammar schools or teachers in Egypt (1) and especially in Alexandria, (2) and, of course, in Constantinople. (3)

As regards the 6th century our evidence for the existence of teachers and schools of grammar comes mainly from works on grammar composed by various grammarians. Thus John Philoponus from Alexandria (beginning of 6th century) was engaged in grammar, and wrote various works on it. Among his teachers was the grammarian Rozenus. (4) Somewhat younger than Philoponus was John Charax. George Cheroboscus, on the other hand, came later than Philoponus. He was professor at the University of Constantinople and taught various branches of Grammar. His lectures were written by his pupils ἀπὸ φωνῆς, that is while he was delivering them. (5) No doubt some of his pupils became grammarians later on. The name of Timotheos from Gaza, who wrote works on grammar and syntax is also known. He was contemporary of John Charax, according to Krumbacher. (6) The existence of so many persons who dealt with the study of grammar shows a great interest in this subject during the 6th century. From this we may infer that instruction also in grammar must have been given systematically.

In the 7th century we have, among other testimonies one from St. Dorotheos archimandrite in Palaestine - pupil of abbas Serides - that he received his "encycloios paideia" before he entered the monastery. He says that he studied under a sophist, a fact that shows by itself that he had previously received instruction in grammar either by the sophist or by some other teacher. (7) From the same source we also see that he was attending lessons together with other pupils. The chronographer John of Antioch (beginning of 7th century) was normally educated in Antioch, a fact which

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- (1) Is. Polus.: Letters, V 317 (to Ophelion, the grammarian) and 334 (to Agathodaemon, the grammarian) in Migne P.G. 78, 1520, 1529.
 - (2) Socrates: Ecol. Hist. VII, 13, in Migne P.G. 67, 761 B-C.
 - (3) Life of St. John Calybitos, 2, in Migne P.G. 114, 568; Sozomenos: Ecol. Hist., IX, 1, in Migne P.G. 67, 1596 A.
 - (4) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 242, vol. II, p. 348.
 - (5) K. Krumbacher: Ibid, 244, vol. II, pp. 351-52.
 - (6) K. Krumbacher: Ibid. 243(2) p.350.
 - (7) St. Dorotheos: "Helpful Teachings", 10, 2, in Migne P.G. 88, 1725 A.

shows that at the dawn of the 7th century there were teachers and schools of grammar in Antioch, where Sophronius of Damascus and Andrews of Crete also received their liberal education. (1) St. John of Damascus, born in Damascus in 676, lived his childhood and adolescence there. He was educated by a tutor, the well educated Cosmas, (2) in all "profane learning" and received instruction in grammar as a foundation of his further education. (3) Another well-known writer Leontius (590-668), bishop of Naples of Cyprus, lived for a period in Alexandria, where he received his secondary education. His sound training shows that in Alexandria also, during the 7th century, there were still good grammar and other schools, providing also higher education. St. Gregory, bishop of Acragas, at the age of twelve or thirteen, studied thoroughly Grammar, Poetics, etc. for four years under a very old experienced teacher. (4)

The interval between 650-850 is considered as the "dark period in Byzantine education, chiefly because the State did but in a very limited scale show interest in encyclical paideia. However, we have an increasing interest in education from the Orthodox Church, because of which instruction in grammar schools continued as before. The offsprings of well-to-do orthodox Christians in the capital and elsewhere continued to be trained in grammar etc. (5) by learned orthodox clergymen or laymen, relatives or not. Theodore of Studium, owing to his uncle Plato's care and his mother's interest in his studies, "became expert in grammar." (6) He himself in his turn supported the study of grammar at first and of other subjects in the second place, in the grammar school he established in the Monastery, as we have already noted. (7) Nicolas of Studium also

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.E.L. 85, vol. I, p. 379; P. Trembelas: Selection of Greek Hymnographers, Athens 1949, p. 153.

(2) Life of St. John of Damascus, 9, in Migne P.G. 94, 441.

(3) Life of St. John of Damascus, 11, in Migne P.G. 94, 444.

(4) Life of St. Gregory, bishop of Acragas, in Migne P.G. 116, 216.

(5) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", ch. IX, p. 227.

(6) Life of Theodore of Studium, I, 2, and II, 3, in Migne P.G. 99, 117 and 237 B.

(7) See above p. 94.

received instruction in grammar in the monastery of Studium, when at the age of ten he came to Byzantium. (1) Nicophorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (806-815), was taught grammar among other subjects, according to his biographer. (2) During this period the study of grammar was limited to what was useful and necessary in matters of language, that is in the correct use of written Greek. The State also held this view as far as specialised education of tabularii - "lawyers" and "archivists" - was concerned, as we know from Ἐκπαρχιακὸν Βιβλίον of the Emperor Leo the Wise. By order of the Emperor a tabularius-to-be "needs also ... to receive an encyclical paideia so as not to make mistakes in his written reports or slips of style"; (3) he "should also be versatile in diction, and suitable in speech, so as not to be easily carried hither and thither because of mistakes in writing and the pleas of marginal notes." (4) R.R.Bolgar from this evidence concludes that the study of grammar in Constantinople between the 7th and 9th centuries was limited to the elements of grammar. There is no argument on this observation. I should like to add, though, that such orders concern the education of a certain category of learned men, of lawyers, for whom, according to the Emperor's view, a deep and all-round encyclical paideia was not necessary. According to Leo's view, instruction in grammar should serve the specialisation rather than a complete philological education of any person wishing to become a lawyer.

However, outside Constantinople the educational conditions were much better. (5) R.R.Bolgar illustrates this by referring to the case of Leo the Mathematician (9th century), who, after taking lessons in grammar and poetics at Constantinople, went to the island of Andros for further and better studies. If Constantinople had such good schools there would be no need for him, being a nephew of the patriarch, to leave the capital for another place. (6)

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- (1) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 869, 872 A.
 (2) Life of the Patriarch Nicophorus, 14: "He was concerned with grammar and its parts and instruments, with the use of which one can distinguish between correct and incorrect writing, and the Greek language is guided and the fundamental rules of metre are made." in Migne P.G. 100, 56-7 A.
 (3) Leo the Wise: "Novellae Constitutiones", 115, 2, in Migne P.G. 107, 656 B.
 (4) Leo the Wise: Ibid. 115, 1, in Migne P.G. Ibid, 656 A.
 (5) R.R.Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 66.
 (6) G. Cedrenus: "Synopsis of Histories", vol. II (Forn), pp. 170-71; Symeon Magister in Theophanes Continuatus p. 192. For details about this school see D.P.Paschalis: 'Ἡ Ἀνδρὸς', Athens 1925, pp. 654-62.

From works in grammar during this period we come to the same conclusion. Take as an example Theognostus, the grammarian of the day, who wrote, for school use, a "handbook on orthography in the form of 1003 rules" (1), a trivial work showing how poor the knowledge given in grammar was. On the contrary, the treatise on syntax composed by the iconodule Michael Syncellus, (first half of the 9th century), who acted outside Constantinople, in Edessa of Mesopotamia, was much better than Theognostus' work. For this reason it was widely used and highly valued everywhere in the Byzantine Empire (2) from his time onwards.

However, from the beginning of the 9th century we have evidence showing some interest in liberal education, beginning with Teophylus and Caesar Bardo. Grammar started to be taught on a university level. Ignatius, magister of grammarians at the University of Constantinople, confesses that before him grammar was in great neglect and he became the first renovator of grammatical studies: "This is the work of Ignatius who brought the art of grammar to the light out of the sea of forgetfulness where it was hidden." (3) About Cometas we have sound evidence that from 863 he was a state teacher of grammar at the University of Constantinople. (4) In fact, in the middle decades of the 9th century we have a reanimation of the state interest in profane education, which had its good effects on the study of grammar as well.

At a provincial centre, Irenopolis of Isauria, in Asia Minor we seem to have at work a school for studies higher than those given in primary schools. (5)

During the 10th century, when we have a flourishing of philological studies owing to the preparation of the philologists of the 9th century with Photius as champion, who received his training in grammar etc. (6) at Constantinople the study of grammar is pursued with greater zeal than

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 245, vol. II. pp. 355-56.

(2) K. Krumbacher: Ibid. 246, vol. II, p. 358.

(3) K. Krumbacher: Ibid. 298, vol. II, p. 643.

(4) Theophanes Continuatus, p. 192 (Bonn).

(5) See M.I. Gedeon: "Schools of Middle Ages, especially Byzantine Schools," in 'Ecclesiastical Truth', vol. 22, p. 290.

(6) Life of Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, in Migne P.G. 105, 509.

before. The great number of scholars and their refined style in their works is a witness for the improvement in educational matters and in the study of grammar especially. The names of Symeon Metaphrastes, Constantine Cephalas, Arethas, (1) bishop of Caesarea, Nicolas Mysticus, Leo the Deacon (born in Kaloe Tmolu of Asia Minor), (2) John Coometres or Kyriotes, and others persuade us of this through their fine writings. But we have direct evidence by Leo the Deacon about the existence of schools of profane learning during this period (3) in Constantinople. In Thessalonica we have a flourishing of education by this time, as John Cameniatos says, (4) and we may infer from this that teachers of grammar must have been teaching there.

The hard national conditions of the Byzantine Empire - external wars mainly - suddenly changed the situation in educational affairs. The number of good teachers of grammar had been considerably reduced. (5) However, the old custom of learned Byzantines to undertake the instruction of their own - or of their relatives' and friends' - children was still in existence and thus many young men received good education. In this connection we can refer to John Mauropus, who was taught by his two uncles an all-round liberal education, namely rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, and ethics, all subjects following instruction in grammar, of course. (6) Thus we can explain Michael Psellus's statement that despite the hard conditions we find so many well educated men. (7) He says, however, that those coming to study philosophy under him had to learn the "elements of grammar" - ἀτελεστέρα γραμματική - first, then grammar on a higher level, and afterwards to become his students and study rhetoric and philosophy. (8)

(1) See S. Kouyean: "Arethas of Caesarea etc." I, p. 26.

(2) Leo the Deacon: "History", I, 1, in Migne P.G. 117, 661.

(3) Leo the Deacon: "History" IV, 7 and 11, in Migne P.G. 117, 753 C, 765B.

(4) John Cameniatos: "De exordio Thessalonica", 10, in Migne P.G. 109, 540A-B.

(5) M. Psellus: "In praise of Xiphilinus", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. IV, p. 433.

(6) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 208, vol. II, p. 681.

(7) M. Psellus: "In praise of his mother", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 14; "In praise of Nicetas", Ibid, vol. V, pp. 89-93; "Encomium to John, bishop of Euchaita", Ibid. pp. 147-48; See above p. 78; also S. Bunciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", p. 241.

(8) M. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 93.

It is worth noticing that at that period many distinguished men were born and educated in the lower stages of profane learning, at least outside the capital. Then they went to Constantinople to secure a good career. Yet, we know that the upper classes (higher officials, etc.) always took care for the good education of the young members of their class, by finding good tutors for them. In fact, we can find quite a number of learned men in Byzantium at any period we look over.

Nevertheless, by the end of the 11th century we hear that education had been neglected in Byzantium and that Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) had to take great measures favouring profane learning. (1) This does not mean that there were not learned men in that period, but rather that those practising teachers were not well educated and, therefore, the standards of school learning were very low. (2)

During the 12th century there were many teachers of grammar in the Capital, like Theodore Prodromus, (3) who claims that he studied grammar etc. under the most excellent teachers, (4) and John Tzetzes, who recommends the works of Dionysius Thrax and Theodosius of Alexandria for the study of grammar. (5) In Thessalonica also there must have been schools of grammar, since those who went to attend Eustathius's instruction should have passed already through the schools of grammar and of rhetoric. (6)

Coming now to the 13th century we find much information concerning the study of grammar in the Byzantine Empire. Gregory of Cyprus, (born in Cyprus in 1241), speaking of himself, says that after finishing the school of the grammarist "he was sent to the town of the Kallinikenians for the sake of more education" by his parents, but he found no proper school there. (7) This evidence shows that in this town of Cyprus there was at least one school in the near past providing instruction in grammar and that

(1) See above p. 83; Zonaras J. XVIII 24, vol. III (Bonn), pp. 744-45.

(2) Anna Comnena: "Alexiad", V, 9, vol. I (Bonn), p. 265.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.^h.L., 313, vol. II, p. 709; Ibid 333, vol. III, p. 38.

(4) Theodore Prodromus: Scripta Miscellanea: "In eos qui ob paupertatem providentiae conviciantur", in Migne P.G. 133, 1297 B.

(5) K. Krumbacher: Ibid, 219 and 241, vol. II, pp. 238 and 347.

(6) N. Choniates: "Monodia in Eustathium Thessalonicensium", 8, 14, in Migne P.G. 140, 340 D, 343 A-B.

(7) Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis historiae sermo res suas continens", in Migne P.G. 142, 21.

the occupation of the island by the Franks resulted in closing this school. The breaking of the Byzantine Empire due to Latin occupation had as a result the creation and organisation of small states, where we can see an effort for the promotion of education. This effort is clearly seen in the Empire of Nicaea (1204-1261), where the Emperors supported profane education and especially the schools of grammar and of rhetoric. (1) Gregory of Cyprus, for instance, got his training in Grammar, Poetics, etc. there (2). George Acropolites mentions the name of his teacher Exapteryfos to whom he was delivered, together with other students: "after his explanation of the poems to us he also taught us the art of using words" till his death. (3) In Prussa of Bithynia at the beginning of the 13th century there was a grammar school where Nicophorus Blombydes received his instruction in grammar, etc. (4)

With the emancipation of Constantinople from the Franks (1261) and the restoration of the Empire in its old capital a new period of philological vigour began. The turn to lay learning and especially to language study is general. The grammar school from the end of the 13th century onwards knows days of glory. (5) We have, first, the information that a school of secular education - σχολή τῶν γραμματικευομένων - was built soon after the capital's emancipation. In this school Manuel Olobolos became a teacher, as successor of George Acropolites, another great teacher of encyclical *paideia* at Constantinople at that period. (6) This movement is greatly due to Theodore Metochites, a highly educated man, protector of letters and of learned men, who was in his prime on Andronicus II's reign (1282-1328). Owing to Metochites's sound views on the study of language, Attic was studied in the proper way from that time on, while previously the teachers of grammar in their vast majority taught grammar in an unsatisfactory way, because no one could master it completely. The techniques

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- (1) Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis historiae sermo res suas continens" in Migne P.G. 142, 21, 24.
 (2) Gregory of Cyprus: Ibid. 24, 25.
 (3) G. Acropolites: "Annals" 32, in Migne P.G. 140, 1056-57 A.
 (4) Andronicos Demetracopoulos: "Ecclesiastical Library" (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη), vol. I. p. xc', Leipzig 1866.
 (5) See S. Bunciman: "Byzantine Civilisation" ch. X, p. 241.
 (6) C. Pachymeros: "On Michael Palaeologos", IV, 14, vol. I, p. 284 (Bonn); S. Lambros: "Neos Hellonismos", vol. 12, p. 437.

they used never found Metochites's approval. On the contrary, he accused them bitterly for their method of instruction: "I finally set my face against the foolish attitude of my contemporaries, many of whom disdained the ancients and their lofty standards. Such a spirit of revolt is considered fashionable at the present time. Its adherents revel in artificial beauties which although to the taste of our language in their idle folly, and fill our dull ears which are ignorant of the true glory of Greek with the thunder of eccentric neologisms calculated to disgust all cultured and intelligent people". (1)

Metochites continued to have those views as a Grand Logothetes - a Minister of Education. He supported a systematic and sound study of grammar. State teachers were appointed who were paid from the Treasury and had to carry out the orders given to them. None of them could leave his post without permission. (2) The interest in the study of grammar was spread out and many distinguished learned Byzantines were seriously engaged in this subject. Many of them wrote text-books for school use to facilitate the study of Attic dialect. Such men were Maximus Planudes, his pupil and friend Manuel Moschopoulos, John Glykas, who became teacher of Nicophorus Gregoras, (3) and, somewhat later, Theodore Myrtacenus, an able teacher of grammar and or rhetoric, tutor of Theodore Metochites's son. It is worth noticing that all these scholars lived and acted at about the same period, and especially during Andronicus II's reign (1282-1328) and afterwards. With this progress in the study of grammar we are far ahead from the previous times when instruction in the "elements of grammar" was the common practice. The grammar schools under Palaeologus asked for higher standards and could no longer be considered the poor brothers of previous periods in Byzantium. We are speaking of the grammar schools of the capital, of course. It is not surprising, then, that many students from the provinces of the Empire and from abroad - mainly from Italy - used

(1) Theodore Metochites: *Στοιχείωσις ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσπερονομικῇ ἐπιστῇ*, in K. Athan B.G.L., vol. I, p. 85; the English translation is quoted from R.R. Bolgar's book "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 83.

(2) See R.R. Bolgar: *Ibid*, p. 84.

(3) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", IX, pp. 229-30.

to come to Constantinople for literary studies, and especially for the study of Greek. The increased intellectual movement of the capital was also due to another reason. During the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire its boundaries were more and more restricted because of the continuous attacks of external enemies and of the weakness of the Empire. Thus the greatest possible security was to be found only within the walls of Constantinople. Those wishing to be educated or to secure some career as learned men could do so in Constantinople. An exception is seen in towns like Thessalonica, Mystras, and some other areas of continental Greece.

Thessalonica had a considerable intellectual movement during the three last centuries but mainly during the 14th century, and profane learning was widely cultivated there. (1) The names of eminent men having been born and having lived there are a proof of this fact. We may mention, for instance, Philotheus, the patriarch of Constantinople, the monk Sabbas, Thomas Magister, D. Triclinius, Matthew Blastaris, the brothers Nicophorus and Theodore Callistus Xanthopoulos, the brothers Demetrius and Prochorus Cydonas, Constantine Armenopoulos, an eminent lawyer, and Nicolas Cabasilas, archbishop of Thessalonica. The fine style of the description of Thessalonica's capture by the Turks (1430), (2) made by John Anagnostes, or the style of Thomas Magister, or Triclinius, etc. is also a testimony of how well the grammar schools were functioning in Thessalonica during this period. The parents showed much interest in the education of their children. Thomas Magister advised them not to send the children to crafts etc. until adolescence in order to receive the proper religious and lay learning (3) and go on studying when they enter a trade later.

About the status of the study of Attic dialect in other districts of the Empire we get an idea from looking at the works of other learned persons, such as historians, theologians, astronomers, who lived outside of

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- (1) For details see: Alexander N. Letsas: "History of Thessalonica" (Ἱστορία τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης), vol. II, Thessalonica 1963, ch. XIV, pp. 192-222; Basil Laourdas: "The Classical Philology in Thessalonica during the 14th century" (Ἡ Κλασσικὴ Φιλολογία εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην κατὰ τὸν 14ον αἰῶνα), Thessalonica 1960, pp. 6-18; Adamantius J. Adamantius: "The Byzantine Thessalonica" (Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Θεσσαλονίκη), Athens 1914, pp. 103-105; G. Buckler in Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VII on "Byzantine Education", p. 214-15; etc.
- (2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 131, vol. I, pp. 608-609.
- (3) Thomas Magister: /

Constantinople. The case of George Lecapenus, a learned monk from Thessaly (14th century), gives us an idea of the cultivation of grammatical studies in Thessaly. He worked there as a teacher and as a writer of text-books of grammar. "His specialisation was to collect and to explain linguistically epistles for practice in Greek grammar and in interpretative work." (1) As for Athens of the 15th century evidence from the writings of Laonicus and Demetrius Chalcocondyles gives us an idea of how the young aristocrats of Athens were instructed in Greek.

In Peloponnesus we have another intellectual centre, Mystras, well-known to us from Plethon, a great philosopher who taught there Greek philosophy before a vast audience. Surely schools and teachers of Grammar must have existed there, too, since we have Plethon (15th century) teaching his many pupils on a university level. We must also mention Trebizond, on the Black Sea, capital of the Empire of Trebizond, which was an important intellectual centre during the last centuries of the Byzantine era. It was famous for the study of sciences, and particularly of Astronomy. The style of the epistles written by the great teacher of astronomy Gregory Chiniades shows that grammar was satisfactorily taught in Trebizond during the 13th and 14th centuries. (2)

We tried to bring in above as much evidence as the limited space of this work permitted to show the existence of "grammarians" and of grammar schools in various parts and periods in Byzantium. No doubt there are many more sources which could strengthen our evidence here. The number of the educated Byzantines, on the other hand, and the reasons justifying the existence of such schools - and teachers - come to support still further our conclusion, that the schools of grammar never ceased to offer their

contd. from previous page:

(3) Thomas Magister: "De Subditorum Officiis", 23, in Migne P.G. 145,540 A:

"Ταῦτα ἅρα καὶ κένησι καὶ πλουσίοις κελεύω μὴ πρότερον εἰς τέχνας δὴ τινὰς τοὺς υἱεῖς παρακάμπειν, πρὶν ἂν αὐτοὺς ἄχρις ἥβης ἢ μικρὸν πρὸ τῆς ἥβης γράμμασιν ἱεροῖς ἐκπαιδεύειν.

(1) K. Krumbacher C.B.L., 229, vol. II, p. 203.

(2) "Epistles of the astronomer Gregory Chiniades" (Γρηγορίου Χιονιδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου ἐπιστολαί), edited by John B. Papadopoulos, Thessalonica 1929, pp. 10-11.

services to the Byzantines. Of course, in some periods there were more such schools and better grammarians than in other periods. But there was some excuse for this fact. In a state which was in a continuous war emergency to face enemies from all directions one could not expect an undisturbed function of its educational institutions, and, therefore, of grammar schools as well. And the fact that lay learning was in the hands of private persons/^{mainly} was another reason for its ups and downs from century to century and from place to place.

In regard to the profits coming out of the grammar school attendance we can note the following: First, owing to these schools many Byzantines became able to understand the Greek texts, left by the classical Greek antiquity and the works written in Greek by the great Fathers and other erudite Byzantines of later periods. The grammar school - and the grammarians as private teachers or tutors - equipped their pupils with the instrument of the Greek language with the help of which any other study of the "profane and religious *paideia*" could be pursued. Second, the knowledge provided by the grammarians could open the door to many professions and also encourage its possessors to go on with their studies if they wished to make a better career as civil or church servants. Third, Greek *paideia* owes many things to the grammar school. To these schools it owes its survival as well as its transmission to other areas where the Byzantine Empire exercised influence - either its own or neighbouring territories. In fact, Byzantium was the only medieval state in the world where Greek *paideia* was cultivated for over a thousand years without any interruption. Many anecdotes also show the extent to which the Greek language and texts were studied by the Byzantines. As for the first centuries of the Empire the fact that they could use Greek fluently is not surprising at all. It becomes so later on, because with the time the gap between written and spoken Greek grew greater and greater. This meant an increasing effort in language study and more pains in the effort to master it. Anecdotes such as the "ὁ ὁ β ε μ ε σ ι γ" story - mentioned by Psellus - must be seen under this perspective. (1)

(1) See H.H. Baynes: "Byzantine Studies and other Essays", pp. 22-3, 193-94, 286; also E. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. IX, pp. 223-24.

2. "SCHOOL" OF RHETORIC

After the pupil had finished his studies in the department of Grammar and if he wished to go on with his studies he went to the School or the department of Rhetoric. The teacher of Rhetoric, called "sophist" - $\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\pi$ or $\sigma\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ - could be the grammarian himself - like Hexapterygus in Nicaea (13th century) and Theodore Myrtacenus (13th-14th century) in Constantinople(1) - but in most cases he was a specialist having nothing to do with the grammarians. The study of Rhetoric, which presupposed a sound language study in the grammar school, involved a broader general education and aimed at eloquence and further intellectual cultivation. (2) It was a higher study warmly recommended to the young persons studying in schools, (3) as an intermediate study between grammar and philosophy, for philosophy was thought of as the crown of all study in Byzantium. Even adherents of Rhetoric, like Psellus, thought of it as a study lower to Philosophy, as a craft - $\tau\epsilon\chi\nu\eta$ - to be pursued before the study of Philosophy, which alone, like Plato, he considered as science - $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\eta$ - (4) There were, of course, persons, religious personalities mainly, who accused Rhetoric on the grounds that it did not really promote one's moral development (5) and was a vain study. They criticised it like Plato (6) as trying to present before others not what is really true but what appears to be so, according to the orator's interest, since it is by such appearance that persuasion is affected and not by truth. (7) St. John Chrysostom was opposed to the exclusive study of Rhetoric. In one of his sermons he says: "Give him (: your son) great endowments, not little ones ... try not to make him an orator, but train him up to be a philosopher;" and he gives the reason for it: "Tempers are wanted not talking; heart not cleverness; deeds not words ... Not not his tongue, but cleanse his soul." St. John's

(1) G. Acropolites: "Annals" 32, in Migne P.G. 140, 1056 B-C; K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 204, vol. II, p. 150.

(2) M. Psellus: Letters, 16 (untitled), in K. Rathas B.G.N. vol. V, p. 256; M. Chonintou: Letters, 21, (to Theodoros) 4, in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acem. etc." vol. II, p. 31.

(3) St. Greg. Nas: Section II, Poems, 8 (to Soloncus) lines 35-52 in "Migne P.G. 37, 1579-80

(4) M. Psellus: Letters, 188, (untitled) in K. Rathas B.G.N. vol. V, p. 480.

(5) Is. Polus: Letters V, 477 (to Isidore Olymbius) in Migne P.G. 78, 1604.

(6) Phaedrus, 260 A.

(7) Life of St. Theodore of Studium I, 2, in Migne P.G. 99, 117.

actual opinion, though, about Rhetoric is to be found in the statement concluding his argument: "I do not say this to prevent your teaching these things, but to prevent you attending to them exclusively." (1) In fact, in St. John's view the study of Rhetoric must be subordinate to that of philosophy - of Christian philosophy. Provided that it happens so, no objection for its study exists. This is clearly seen in the words of a twelfth century ecclesiastical orator, Euthemius Malakis, who proudly declares that he is "an orator and adherent of God" (2) alike, a claim that every Byzantine churchman could unhesitatingly repeat for himself.

In practice, though the study of philosophy was highly valued, the majority of those receiving higher education came only up to the study of Rhetoric. This was due to many reasons. The Byzantines followed the educational tradition of their predecessors in regard to Rhetoric study. Rhetoric was^a very popular subject in pre-Byzantine (3) times and in almost every town there were more than one teachers of Rhetoric apart from those supported by the State as public teachers of the subject. The State also needed good civil servants for administration services, and the schools of rhetoric together with the Law schools claimed to prepare such persons. (4) The student of rhetoric, on the other hand, owing to this study could make a better career. Then, this study, though it presented fewer difficulties than that of philosophy proper, was in itself a higher study, worthy to attend. In the hands of able sophists it could become, as in Isocrates's school of Rhetoric, a noble and humanistic study. In Isocrates's view a good orator should be a moral person and a good citizen; as a learned man he certainly had the instrument to understand his fellow-men and make himself understood - since he was trained pretty well in discussing and thinking well - and had a sound general knowledge. Under such presuppositions the study of rhetoric was desirable. In addition there was the Church,

(1) St. J. Chrys.: On Eph. XXI, 2, in Migne P.G. 62, 152 (translation in Library of Fathers, vol. 6, p. 340-41).

(2) K. Bonis: "Euthemius Malakis" p. 9; Theodore Prodromus: Scripta Miscellanea "In eos qui ob paupertatem providantiae conviciantur", in Migne P.G. 133, 1297 B.

(3) K. Krumbacher GBL 187, vol. II, pp. 87-88.

(4) H.I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity" Part III, ch. VI, p. 288.

which valuing preaching had to support the study of rhetoric of a certain kind - namely of ecclesiastical rhetoric, (1) a branch that appeared with Christianity's spread. In the Oecumenical School of Constantinople there was a chair for the study of rhetoric with the professor of rhetoric in charge and the teachers-assistants of various specialties around him. (2) Nothing more natural, then, for the Byzantines than to pursue the study of rhetoric and be fond of it, provided that it was based on sound moral, philosophical grounds. Thus rhetoric placed in the service of the society and of the Church constituted a useful possession and an ornament for every learned Byzantine. Psellus, for instance, praises Cerularius the Patriarch just because he was a good orator, able to raise the craft - "εἰς τὴν ἀρίστην - of rhetoric up" to a science and most precise philosophy; (3) similarly Michael Choniates praises the Patriarch Michael, because "he would think philosophically in a rhetorical way and speak rhetorically in a philosophical way" (4) and his teacher Eustathius of Thessalonica, for the latter was an excellent orator. (5)

The student of rhetoric started his studies at about the age of fourteen and sometimes before it. (6) The study lasted for three to four years. Pamacius, the sophist, was taught rhetoric for three years by professor Theon in Athens (7) during the 5th century. During the Byzantine era we find schools of rhetoric in every intellectual centre of the Empire. In towns like Antioch, Alexandria, Athens, Thessalonica, etc., there were more than one sophists having their private schools. The pupils were not only from the town but also from other parts of the Empire. They lived in lodgings and were intimately related with their teachers and among themselves and had a most active school life. (8) The quality of instruction

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- (1) Canon 19 of the Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (692), in Migne P.G. 137, 576-81; St. J. Chrys.: "On Priesthood" IV, 3-9, V, 1-3, 5, 7, in Migne P.G. 48, 666 ff; see also D. Balanos: "The Byzantine Ecclesiastical Writers", p. 10; K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 70, vol. I, p. 319 ff.
 - (2) C. Codinus: "Book of Offices", ch. I, p. 5 (Bonn).
 - (3) M. Psellus: "In praise of Cerularius" in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. IV, p. 333.
 - (4) M. Choniates: "Speech to the Patriarch Michael" 24, in S. Lambron: "Mich. Acem. etc." vol. I, p. 80.
 - (5) M. Choniates: Monodia in Eustathium Thessalonicensis, 19, in Migne P.G. 140, 344 D-345 A.
 - (6) Life of St. John Calybites, 2, in Migne P.G. 114, 568.
 - (7) Photius: "Myriobiblos", 181, in Migne P.G. 103, 532.
 - (8) See G. Buckler in Baynes and Moss "Byzantium", ch. VIII on "Byzantine Education", pp. 209-210

was dependent mainly on the sophist himself and this is the reason why we find good schools in some place or another and in this or that period. When this difference in teaching was observed in the same town there was a rivalry and quarrels among the sophists and even among the students of the various schools, for gaining new students on behalf of their masters.

The State supported by law the teaching of rhetoric, medicine and Quadrivium, as we know, (1) and granted the towns with a certain amount of money for this purpose, though in some cases the school might cover its expenses from the fees collected. (2) The local authorities then appointed the most famous sophists as public teachers all the time and maintained comfortable halls for the schools of rhetoric, etc. (3) For this reason one good sophist could move from town to town to gain such a post, highly paid and valued. Such was the case with Imerius and Libanius, (4) for instance, who left their provinces for Constantinople, or with Helladius and Ammonius who came from Alexandria to Constantinople and became public teachers of rhetoric there at the close of the 4th century. (5) Sometimes a good sophist was followed by some of his pupils in his new place. (6) The pupils paid fees to their master and this made the study difficult for poor students, some of whom even worked to meet such expenses.

A kind of rhetoric which was highly cultivated in Byzantium was ecclesiastical rhetoric. Its fine products date from the days of the Great Fathers, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom, and others of the 4th and 5th centuries. The classical education which they received under the best rhetoricians and other teachers of their days,

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- (1) Zonaras J. XIV, 6, vol. III, p. 273-74 (Eonn). He refers to the money given by the treasury to various towns for the teachers of $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\epsilon\chi\nu\acute{\omega}\nu$.
 - (2) Photius: "Myriobiblos" title 242, "Ex Isidori philosophi/vita Damascio auctore, in Migne P.G. 103, 1285 B (346 b).
 - (3) Thomas Maritor: Letter to the philosopher Joseph, in Migne P.G. 145, 445 A.
 - (4) See H.J. Godeon: "Schools of Middle Ages, especially Byzantine Schools" in Ecclesiastical Truth, vol. 22, p. 290; *in the same volume, p. 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.*
 - (5) Socrates: Eccl. Hist. V. 16, in Migne P.G. 67, 605 A.
 - (6) See C. Buckler in Payson and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VIII on "Byzantine Education", pp. 209-210.

gave them the instrument to compose their unrivalled speeches and deliver them as classical to posterity. From the 6th century onwards owing to the splendid and abundant ecclesiastical literature and the Synodic canons (1) the orators, mostly in the service of the Church, imitated the speeches of the Great Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries. This practice lasted throughout the Byzantine period. (2) In fact, ecclesiastical rhetoric was the favourite literary occupation of the Byzantines, laymen and clergymen alike. In their speeches from the pulpit or in festivals and other occasions the composers drew from all sources in style and content, the Bible and the Greek literature, in their effort to praise, to admonish, to teach, according to the purpose at hand.

This is not to say that the Byzantines neglected the other kinds of rhetoric, namely the deliberative, the juridical and the epideictic. On the contrary, following the established tradition they cultivated them all in their schools, (3) throughout the Byzantine era, in the same manner as in previous ages. Those who studied rhetoric had to pass through the same training in the successive stages of rhetoric instruction, no matter whether they were to become ecclesiastical orators or not. After this study of rhetoric those seeking perfection in it did so by further individual study, or by listening to the most famous orators of the day, lecturing in public in the town halls or speaking on special occasions. Every able orator did his best to present a perfect speech from the point of view of content and of form. Such speeches were usually written down either by their composers or by shorthand writers and copied in manuscripts to be studied by those interested in advancement in rhetoric. The rhetorical collection of Eusebius a product of fine orators of the 12th century (4) gives us an idea of the type of rhetoric cultivated among the elite. Apart from this valuable collection we have innumerable speeches composed by expert Byzantine orators of other periods, serving these purposes. These speeches were listened to or studied with great zeal by the Byzantines, who, as Greek-feeling people, had a great passion for rhetoric, eloquence and words.

(1) See above pp. 91-2.

(2) Nicoph. Callistus: Ecclesiastical History XIII, 2, in Migne P.G. 146, 933.

(3) Commentator of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, VI: Anonymous comments, Speech I against Julian, in Migne P.G. 36, 1212; Matthew Cambriones: "Synopsis Rhetoricae", in Migne P.G. 160, 1021 ff.

(4) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 201, vol. II, pp. 128-31.

3. FURTHER HIGHER STUDIES

Apart from the study of rhetoric the Byzantines could study Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics, Theology, etc. in the higher institutions of the Empire or under able private - the most famous in the early Byzantine period were those of Alexandria and Athens for philosophical studies⁽¹⁾ including the study of Quadrivium, the schools of rhetoric at Athens and Gaza, ⁽²⁾ the schools of Law in Rome, Berytus and Gaza, and the newly established University schools of Constantinople.

These provincial centres of learning, however, were gradually lost to the Empire or left to decay as in the case of Athens, and Constantinople became the main intellectual centre suitable for higher studies provided by the State University Schools - where Trivium (grammar, rhetoric and dialectics), and Quadrivium, Medicine and Law were thoroughly studied - and by the Oecumenical School of the Patriarch. The University was always under the Emperor's patronage for reasons already stated. Despite all ups and downs which it had during its long (about one thousand years) life and function it remained "a most fruitful centre of study, the main pillar of the classical tradition ... it always remained loyal to the spirit of its original foundation ... The education it provided was always governed by classical standards, with the liberal arts supplying the foundation, and rhetoric and philosophy and law the crown." ⁽³⁾ It was in this University also that many young persons from the provinces of the Empire and at times from abroad used to come to complete their higher studies.

The Church also had its special needs and aims served by the Oecumenical School of the Patriarch established at the beginning of the 7th century, where instruction was provided on a university level. ⁽⁴⁾ This school, though religious in its character, included in its curriculum humanistic studies as well. The quality of knowledge provided in the Oecumenical School was always high and the professors teaching there were

(1) See G. Buckler in Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VII on "Byzantine Education", p. 213.

(2) B. Tatakis: "Topics of Christian and Byzantine Philosophy" (Θέματα Χριστιανικῆς καὶ Βυζαντινῆς Φιλοσοφίας), pp. 54-5

(3) H. I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part III, Epilogue, p. 340.

(4) See G. Buckler: Ibid. pp. 218 ff.

selected from among the most learned Byzantines. Michael Italikus, for instance, was very well acquainted with Rhetoric, Philosophy and many other sciences, (1) and was also a competent critic. Another example is Eustathius of Thessalonica. As a deacon of St. Sophia he taught music, grammar, rhetoric, history and the civilisation of ancient Greece. (2) The radiance of the school reached very far both to remote provinces of the Empire and outside it through those of its professors and graduates who were ordained as bishops there. Many of these religious personalities, being fond of learning, together with other state officials became at times the focus of the intellectual movements in the towns they lived. Eustathius of Thessalonica may be mentioned as a most fitting example in this connection.

It would be unjust and out of reality, however, to diminish the role which the other higher institutions of learning, functioning outside the Capital, played in the education of the Byzantines during the middle and the later period in Byzantium. Nicaea, first, became for a period (13th century) an important centre of learning, particularly when Nicephorus Blemmydes and other famous teachers taught there. The Academy of Trebizond which was flourishing under Megalocomnens during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries was the best institution for the study of sciences and especially of Astronomy and Mathematics. (3) Those who wanted to specialise in those branches did not always go to Constantinople any longer. In Thessalonica again, though we do not seem to have a certain higher institution functioning, there was a perpetual intense intellectual movement, which reached its peak during the 13th and 14th centuries. (4) The local municipalities were always supporting men of letters and paid specialists according to the law to teach rhetoric, medicine and Quadrivium. (5) In fact, it was in

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 197, vol. II, pp. 116-18.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 221, vol. II, pp. 259-67.

(3) John B. Papadopoulos: "Epistola of the astronomer Gregory Chionides", pp. 3 ff; D. Cotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences during the Byzantine Period", p. 13; also "The Sciences during the last three centuries in Byzantium", pp. 5-6, 12-13.

(4) Basil Laourdas: "The Classical Philology in Thessalonica during the 14th century", pp. 6 ff; Panayiotis Christou: "Gregory Palamas and Theology in Thessalonica during the 14th century", Thessalonica 1959, pp. 4 ff.

(5) See Alexander N. Letsas: "History of Thessalonica", vol. II, ch. 14, pp. 221-22.

Thessalonica that humanistic and theological studies were broadly cultivated so as to make this town a rival of the Capital during this period. Lastly, we must refer to Mystras in Peloponnesus, a new centre of learning during the last decades of the Byzantine era, where the famous philosopher Plethon taught for a very long period for Italy (1) to a vast audience of learned men.

As to matters concerning the organisation and functioning of the higher institutions during the Byzantine period they have been left out of this work as having been broadly discussed by any Greek, English and other Continental scholars. (2)

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- (1) A.A.Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", pp. 878-80 (Greek translation).
- (2) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", chs. IX-X, pp. 223-53; R.R.Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", ch. II, pp. 59-90; J.M.Hussey: "Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire 867-1185", pp. 22-116; N.H.Baynes and H.St.L.D.Moss: "Byzantium", chs. VII-VIII, pp. 200-51; J. Ealden: "The Universities of Ancient Greece"; London 1913; I.K.Boyiadizides: "Historical Studies", vol. A, Part A, Thessalonica 1932, ch. 4, pp. 149 ff; Robert Byron: "The Byzantine Achievement", London 1929, pp. 126, 28, 144, 193, 204, 211; J. Lindsay: "Byzantium into Europe", London 1952; A.A.Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", Oxford 1952.

4. CURRICULUM, METHODS OF INSTRUCTION, TEXT-BOOKS
USED IN THE "SCHOOLS OF ETCYCLION" PAPERIA

It has been stated already that the chief aim of grammar schools was instruction in the Greek language. The subjects serving this purpose were Grammar itself, Poetics and the teaching of Prose writers. Other subjects were the Quadrivium, History, and perhaps some elements of Medicine. Religious instruction was not given in these schools; only a number of patristic works were used in the instruction of Poetics and Prose writers. We must note, however, that the subjects of Quadrivium in the schools of grammar were taught on a very elementary level. Their deep examination was left to higher education. There was also a tendency of the teachers, being in accordance with the demand for erudition, to incorporate in language study material normally belonging to the curriculum of the schools of rhetoric. (1)

(1) GRAMMAR

The aim of instruction in grammar was "the hellenization of the pupil's tongue", from a vocabulary, morphological and syntactical point of view. Isidore Pelusiotes says that "Grammar boasts that it can teach practice in the use of words." (2) Such a task was not easy for both the teacher and the pupil, especially for the pupil of later Byzantine times (from 10th century onwards). Because of the unbridged gap created between spoken and written Greek, initiation in it demanded a very serious preparatory training. (3)

Under such conditions then it is not surprising why current school needs made the 'grammarians' deal with practical grammatical topics, as one sees in their numerous text-books of grammar. Their writers has as permanent models, the grammar written by Dionysius Thrax (about 100 A.D.), the works of Apollonius and Herodianus (2nd c.) (4) dealing with the parts of speech, syntax, typicon and with grammar and orthography. The main topics to be taught, according to Dionysius, were: (a) Accurate reading, (b) Explanation of poetic figures of speech, (c) Exposition of rare words and subject-matter, (d) Etymology, (e) Statement of regular grammatical forms, and (f) The criticism of poetry, which is the noblest part of all. From this list we see that grammar had to deal with many problems; in fact it meant the study of language through the study of recognised poets and prose writers. But

(1) C. Lascaris: Prooemium ad libros suos de Grammatica, in Migne PG 161, 936.

(2) Is. Polus.: Letters, II, 26 (to Orion) in Migne P.G. 78, 473.

(3) N. Choniates: "In praise of his brother Nicetas" in E. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." vol. I, p. 347; K. Krumbacher GBL 96, vol. II, p. 458.

(4) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 241, vol. II, p. 345.

in using these sources as well as basic grammar books written by well-known Byzantine writers the teachers of grammar usually made alterations, abbreviations or additions and so on as it suited them best in their classroom work. (1) No matter how successful or unsuccessful such changes could be we see in them a dramatic effort made by these teachers in their wish to adapt the original texts to the urgent needs of the classroom.

Those grammarians who made use of sources in writing text-books suitable for the grammar school pupil paid great attention to the "elements" of grammar, that is to the topics of accentuation and orthography of words. Their interest in syntax was secondary, generally speaking. The reasons for this are obvious. In ancient times orthography was greatly helped by the pronunciation of the words. In Byzantine times, however, pronunciation could no longer facilitate orthography. Thus orthography became a crucial problem demanding its direct solution, a problem which the Byzantine teachers of grammar tried to face; but they did not manage to do so successfully, as one sees from the numerous misspellings seen in Byzantine texts.

Byzantines, interested as they were in education, dealt with this practical problem from early times. Thus John Philoponus from Alexandria (6th century) had been occupied in grammar and among other things he had written rules concerning accentuation and the well-known book "On the differentiation of the meaning of words according to stress," (2) in the form of a lexicon, based on Herodianus's work. We have already mentioned John Charax, Timotheos of Gaza, George Charoboscus, Theognostus, Michael Syncellos who wrote text-books of grammar between the 6th and 9th centuries. We should like now to refer to some other writers of grammar books.

Nicetas of Serrai (late 11th century) wrote grammatical poems and poems in which he gave words in a form of lexicon. His aim seems to have been successful because his poems were highly valued by his contemporaries and subsequent generations. (3) This idea of presenting in a poetic

(1) Constantine Laskaris: "Prooemium ad libros suos de Grammatica", in Migne P.G. 161, 933; also K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 214, vol. II, p. 185.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 242, vol. II, p. 349.

(3) K. Krumbacher: Ibid. 247, vol. II, pp. 359-60.

form (1) material of grammar difficultly learned or assimilated otherwise pleased the Byzantines engaged in learning. (2) Nicetas arranged in the form of ecclesiastical short hymns the rules of orthography and other works of Timothy of Gaza, Gregory, bishop of Corinth (end of 12th - beginning of 13th centuries); he also wrote some important small works of grammatical topics.

The name of Theodore Prodromus has also been connected with the subject of Grammar. He used Nicetas's method, that is he put grammatical material in a form of ecclesiastical short hymns. In addition, he worked to present various topics of grammar in the form of questions and answers, that is he gave a new technique of instruction of grammar. In fact, during the 12th century we have these innovations in the methodology of grammar side by side with the effort to go on with the traditional method given by Dionysius Thrax. John Tzetzes is said to have advocated this. (3) Nevertheless, the oldest text-book of this type, titled "Questions" - Ἑρωτήματα - belongs to 13th century. The book, however, which got great fame and circulation was the "Grammatical Questions" - Ἑρωτήματα γραμματικὰ - by Manuel Moschopoulos (end of 13th - beginning of 14th centuries). (4) It is not an original work, but only an improved abridgement of another work titled "New Epitome of Grammar" - Ἐκτομή νέα γραμματικῆς - whose writer is unknown to us as yet. This work was intended for school use only, (5) a fact that shows the interest of teachers in helping their pupils for an efficient learning and mastering of Greek. Many other learned men interested in education followed Moschopoulos in this task. We mention Maximus Planudes (end of 13th - beginning of 14th centuries) who is one of those Byzantines who wrote many and important

(1) See D. Xanlatos: "The Schools in Byzantium", p. 10, where the following extract of a grammatical poem is quoted:

"Ἀναξ ὑπάρχει βασιλεύς, ἀνασσα ἡ δεσποίνη,
ἄντρον ἐστὶ τὸ σπήλαιον, ἀραρότως κρεκόντως,
ἀρωγός τε καὶ βοηθός, ἀνοίσω ἀναφέρω, ἀρήγω δὲ τὸ βοηθῶ
ἄρκαξ καὶ ἀρκάζωκ ἔτυμος δὲ ὁ ἀληθής, ψιλὰ τε καὶ τὰ δύο
ἔτοιμος δὲ ὁ πρόχειρος τὸ τοῖ δίδωγγον γράφε..."

(2) See D. Xanlatos: Ibid, p. 11.

(3) K. Krumbacher: O.B.L. 241 (2), vol. II, p. 347ff

(4) Constantine Laskaris: "Prooemium ad libros suos de Grammatica", in Higne P.G. 161, 933; Pachomius, the monk: "Pre-theory in Grammar", in Higne P.G. 98, 1365 B.

(5) K. Krumbacher: O.B.L. 224 and 241 (2), vol. II, pp. 279-80, 347

text-books. He wrote a grammar in dialogical form for school use exclusively. (1) By the end of the 14th century another learned man, Neilus Plassorens, bishop of Rhodes, wrote a similar work of grammar. (2)

From all these works the one which acquired great fame was the "Grammatical Questions" - 'Ερωτήματα γραμματικά - composed by Manuel Moschopoulos. This work was used during the Italian Renaissance for instruction of the Greek language. Many Byzantine and foreign learned men gave revisions of this work. As an example we refer to the names of Manuel Chrysoloras, Theodoro Cazes, Constantine Lascaris and Demetrius Chalcocondyles (3) who taught Greek during the 15th century mostly in Italy, and from the foreigners the names of Urbanus from Belluno (1497) and George Sinner (Tübingen 1572) who first wrote in Latin text-books of Greek grammar in the pattern of Byzantine method of instruction of the subject. Krumbacher says that it was from these text-books that Melanchthon and other Eastern grammarians borrowed their most important material for their famous text-books of Grammar. (4) In this connection we must refer to George Chorobescus's works on grammar, because "they were the main source of grammarians, and especially of Constantine Lascaris and Urbanus from Belluno. (5)

Apart from the above text-books written either according to the model of Dionysius Thrax's grammar or according to the "Questions" - 'Ερωτήματα - the grammarians were occupied with the construction of lexicons to facilitate still more the right knowledge of the Greek language. This tendency is to be seen in pre-Byzantine times, (6) too, but it is continued with zeal and interest in Byzantine times and on a greater scale than before, especially in certain periods - for instance, 9th and 10th centuries. (7) Thus, between the 5th and 7th centuries a valuable "glossary,

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 223, vol. II, pp. 272-73.

(2) K. Krumbacher: Ibid. 241, vol. II, p. 347.

(3) Constantine Lascaris: "Prooemium ad libros suos de Grammatica", in Migne P.O. 161, 933-38.

(4) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 241, vol. II, p. 348.

(5) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 244, vol. II, 352, 348.

(6) See Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", p. 23; also Euphr. Londou-Demetracopoulou: "Hexabiblos", pp. 271-73.

(7) Ibid.

in alphabetical order" - ἡλωσσάριον κατὰ στοιχεῖον, which came up to us in many manuscripts, was attributed to Cyril, the patriarch of Alexandria. A similar lexicon titled "Eudemus" by an unknown composer was also used. (1) Later on we have the lexicon by Photius (9th century) construed with the help of his pupils for practical purposes - that is "to facilitate the reading of classical authors and of the Scriptures. For this reason words and phrases of Attic dialect which were no longer understood in his day cover the greater part of this work." (2) Soon after this we have the famous Lexicon of Suidas. This is not a dictionary in the narrow sense, but a kind of encyclopedia - since it is full of knowledge on grammar, on words and their meanings, on history and literature. As a matter of fact "the grammatical and philological character of late Byzantine times" figures in Suidas' Lexicon. Another lexicon written between 10th and 11th centuries, the "Lexica Segueriana", is worth mentioning for it "contains a large collection of words and syntaxes, revealing the width of studies in Byzantium" on language matters during this period at least. (3)

Many etymological dictionaries had also been written in the Byzantine period. The so called "Great Etymological" - Ἑτυμολογικὸν Μέγα - written at about the second half of the 10th century and arranged in alphabetical order, is one of the most important of the kind. It was widely used by Byzantine students of language. It was also used by Hellenists of the West since Italian Renaissance along with other similar books. (4)

We have also dictionaries on specific topics written by Byzantine writers, such as Manuel Moschopoulos's "Gathering of Attic Nouns" - Συναγωγή ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν - and that of his contemporary Thomas Magister "Collection of Attic nouns and verbs" - Ἐκλογή ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων Ἀττικῶν written mainly for school use, namely "in order to facilitate the pupils to write in Greek." (5)

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 234, 5, vol. II, pp. 325, 327.

(2) K. Krumbacher Ibid. 216, vol. II, pp. 224-25.

(3) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 236, vol. II. p. 328.

(4) Constantine Lascaris: "Prooemium ad libros suos de Grammatica", in Migne P.G. 161, 938; also K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 237, 238, vol. II, pp. 333-34, 340.

(5) Alexander N. Letsas: "History of Thessalonica", 31, vol. II, p. 200.

From an examination of the various text-books on grammar written and used in Byzantine schools we see that the following topics were contained in these books and formed the teaching material:

- (a) The parts of speech in detail. (1)
- (b) Rules of orthography, accentuation and punctuation in full detail.
- (c) Parsing or analysis, etymology and the production of compound words.
- (d) Prosody and metric.
- (e) Syntax, and
- (f) Schedography

As far as the five first topics are concerned there is no need for comments, I think. It is only the last topic which should be discussed here, since it has become the object of discussion and criticism from Byzantine times onwards. (2) First we have to see what is meant by "schedography". Anna Comnena writes that "the art of the riddle is an innovation of recent persons and of the present generation: their favourite pursuit is backgammon and other unlawful works." From this we understand that schedography was a new technique in language instruction. (3) From what she goes on to say we also gather that it was a technique for elementary grammar instruction: "I say this grieved at the utter neglect of encyclical paedeia. This inflames my soul (with anger), because I have studied these things extensively, and when I am released from this childish occupation, I would have prescribed rhetoric (for myself) and touched on philosophy... Then I condemned in me this complicated and tangled art of riddle-making." (4) Anna Comnena bitterly attacks this study of which she had a personal experience. Unfortunately she does not describe the technique of schedography as to help us to see whether her condemnation of the subject is fully justified. However, from other sources we are in a position to know that

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- (1) Pachomius: "On the usefulness of the Bible...", in Migne P.G. 98, 1357 B; Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis historiae sermo res suas continens", in Migne P.G. 142, 25; H. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. V, p. 91.
 - (2) See K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 250, vol. II, pp. 366-70; R.R. Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 79; Euphr. Londou-Demetropoulou: "Hexabiblos", book VI, "On Anna Comnena", pp. 354-55; D. Xanlatos: "The Schools in Byzantium", pp. 10-12; Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", pp. 23, 43-4; P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantines", vol. A, I, pp. 110-12.
 - (3) Anna Comnena: "Alexiad" XV, 7, vol. II, p. 349 (Dorn).
 - (4) Anna Comnena: Ibid. p. 349-50 (English translation by Dawes pp. 411-12).

there were two kinds of schedography. The first technique of schedography traditionally used dealt with parsing, etymology, interpretation and orthography of the words contained in a passage chosen for practice in language of the grammar school pupil. (1) The passage was either from some author or composed by the teacher in such a way as to contain words of difficult meaning but found in the texts. The teacher used to cut off from the texts words or phrases with content opposed to the chief aim of education - that is the moral aspect of education - and to the spirit of Christianity. As time went on spoken Greek had progressively been separated from written Greek - "common" and "Attic" dialects. This fact brought the Byzantine grammarians to a very difficult position as to the method of language instruction to their inexperienced pupils. Thus a second device of schedography was invented to offer a solution to this problem. No doubt it was a troublesome and hard subject for the Byzantine pupil.

In the second kind of schedography words were put in phrases in such an order as to give one meaning when heard and quite another when looked at. P. Koukoules refers to Eustathius of Thessalonica according to whom in this kind of schedography happens exactly the same thing as in riddles: "As in riddles the word that is spoken differs from the thought intended. And those who speak in riddles consequently themselves call the puzzles they devise 'thoughts' - νοήματα - which speak in riddles, because the pupil tries to make up not what is said by what is thought of." (2) And in order to illustrate this Eustathius says: "Reference was necessarily made to some examples of this in comments on the Iliad, one of which is the passage βῆ ῥ' ἰσόv τε καὶ Ἀντίφον ἔξεν ἀπὶ ζῶν where he means not Ῥῆσον (Rhesus) but a certain Ἰσον". (3) The underlined words sound the same but the two words ῥ' ἰσόv have a different meaning from the single word Ῥῆσον. A second illustration is found in the following phrase: "Ἀχρῶν ἰατρὸν καὶ ὄχι ἄρπον ἰατρὸν where the underlined words have the same sound effect but their writing - and with it their meaning - differs. It is obvious that this kind of schedography was taught at an advanced stage

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 250, vol. II, pp. 366-70; see P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantium", vol. A, I, p. 110.

(2) Eust. Thess.: "Commentaries on Homer" 1634, 13 quoted by P. Koukoules: "Eustathius of Thessalonica: The folk-lore", vol. I, p. 465-66.

(3) Eust. Thess.: Ibid.

of the study of grammar. The pupil had to know the elements of grammar, possess a rich vocabulary, know the meaning of words very well in order to be able to understand the ambiguity of such phrases. In practice the teacher proceeded progressively. In the first stage he used to give groups of unknown words to be put in a phrase. The meaning of the phrase differed according to the order of the words used, and the pupil had to find out the right answer. The second step is seen in the examples already quoted. The words having the same pronunciation were put among other known words in a phrase and the pupil had to decide about their proper orthography and the right meaning of the phrase. No doubt "τά σχέδη" of this kind presented difficulties to the pupil. All Byzantines who spoke about these "σχέδη" agreed to this. Eustathius, for instance, says that those who found them had also "found a painstaking task to the grammar school boys"(1) It was certainly to this kind of "σχέδη" that Anna Comnena addressed her condemnation and not to schedography having to do with parsing, etc. The seriousness of the subject is pointed out also by the fact that there was a special prayer for the beginner in schedography quoted in the book "Τά σχέδη" by Manuel Moschopoulos. (2) However, this subject was troublesome to the teacher also, as Eustathius informs us. "And they themselves recently in the labyrinth of puzzling convolutions, having grasped one, and not being well-provided with words, but so to speak hungering for elaborate terms to use, reacted against such things and dancing as it were indiscriminatingly contracted them into one. (3) In fact the new device of schedography which predominated throughout the 12th century had not satisfied the Byzantines and a reaction towards the old kind of schedo-^{was}graphy brought into play from the 13th century onwards. Some of the most famous learned men in Byzantium, like Manuel Moschopoulos, wrote new textbooks of grammar based on the old technique but adapted to face the new

(1) Eust. Thess.: Commentaries on Homer 1809, 10; see also P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 111.

(2) See Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Greek Schools", p. 118:

"Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀσκόπως εὐδοκήσας τεχθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, ταῖς πρεσβείαις αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ χρυσορρήμονος Ἰωάννου, φώτισον τὸν νοῦν τοῦ νέου τοῦ ἀπομένου τοῦ σχεδογραφεῖν καὶ τὴν καταργῆναι εὐλόγησον τοῦ σχέδους" Manuel Moschopoulos "Τά Σχέδη" (Edited in Paris, 1545, 4th).

(3) Eust. Thess.: Quoted by P. Koukoules: "Eustathius of Thessalonica: The Folk-lore", vol. I, p. 466.

conditions. The book "τὰ σχέδη" by Moschopoulos became a model book from now on side by side with his "Grammatical Questions".

Judging the value of schedography as a technique we may say that both kinds presented their pedagogic advantages. R.R.Bolgar sees many advantages in the first technique of schedography and praises it. "Its pedagogic advantages", he says, "were obvious. A literary work, however carefully selected was bound to contain some unmanageable passages, some rare idioms, and perhaps some dangerously pagan ideas. Material composed especially for schools avoided all these embarrassments"(1) Another scholar A.A.Vasiliev also agrees with Bolgar and proceeds further to justify the grammar teachers in their attempt to depart from the old technique of teaching grammar. (2) To my opinion the first kind of schedography as a technique for language instruction deserves our praise. In teaching a language which was no longer spoken as idiom one has to do a certain amount of routine work to possess the language. This was exactly what the Byzantine teachers of grammar tried to offer to help their pupils to learn Greek. This technique, independently of its effectiveness, - which was quite satisfactory, if we remember the period we are examining - shows at least signs of genuine interest of the Byzantine grammarians in their subject and their willingness to find out some way or another to impart knowledge of language to their pupils as effectively as they could. The same can be said for the second device of schedography, though its use seems to have been rather limited when compared with the first. It was not an easy task to find words and phrases "having one meaning when heard and another meaning when looked at." Despite this the Byzantine teachers of grammar took much pain in this task. In addition, we may note that in doing so these teachers showed some respect for their pupils' developing mind, since they liked to keep it at work during the time of language study. Let us remind ourselves of the other techniques used in the instruction of grammar, such as putting teaching material in a poetic form, or in the form of questions and answers, like the "grammatical questions" - "Ἐρωτήματα Γραμματικά" - by Moschopoulos. Do not all these things prove that in grammar instruction the Byzantines have done some progress

(1) R.R.Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 79.

(2) A.A.Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", Oxford 1952, p. 701.

as far as the technique of instruction is concerned? The Byzantines received the traditional method of grammar instruction from the Hellenistic world, but they delivered it to posterity with many new devices some of which were proved very successful in the teaching of language as a foreign language to other nations. (1) In closing the chapter of grammar we may refer to the technique advocated by the text-books of the type "Grammatical Questions" which from 13th century onwards were in wide use in teaching Greek not only in Byzantium but also in the West, with the dawn of the Italian Renaissance, and later on Chrysoloras's effort to improve this technique which came at the end of the 14th century in the last considerable advance in the history of the methodology of grammar, (2) which has been highly praised by the Italian humanists of the 14th and 15th centuries and many contemporary scholars of Byzantine culture.

(2) POETICS

After the initiation of grammar school pupils in the elements of grammar, language instruction proceeded to the teaching of poetic works, from pagan and christian poets. This subject was used for further instruction in grammar, and not merely as an independent subject for its own sake. In fact, poetics was a part of grammar's study, as we know from many Byzantine writers. The "Grammar, which hellenises our speech and composes history and presides over metre and makes rules of poetry..." according to St. Gregory of Nazianzus. (3) That the study of the poets followed instruction in the elements of grammar and provided material for practice in grammar we know from the fact that poetical works were used for practice in scholegraphy. On such texts persons, explanation of various words and language forms was always done in grammar schools. (4)

Poetics was taught in grammar schools from the beginning of the Byzantine period. Evidence about this is provided by St. Gregory of Nazianzus(5)

(1) Constantine Lascaris: "Prooemium ad libros suos de Grammatica", in Migne P.G. 161, 935-36.

(2) Constantine Lascaris: Ibid, 933.

(3) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 43 "In praise of Basil", 23, in Migne P.G. 36, 528 A; Life of St. Theodore of Studium I, 2, in Migne P.G. 99, 117 C.

(4) Theodore Metochites: Στοιχειώσις ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ ἢ ἐκιστήμῃ prelude, quoted by K. Sathas B.C.M. vol. I, p. 115

(5) St. Greg. Naz.: Ibid.

St. Gregory of Nyssa, (1) Neilus the Hermit, (2) Symeon Metaphrastes in his biography of St. Gregory Bishop of Agragas (6th century), (3) Michael Psellus, who claims that at the age of fourteen he knew the Iliad of Homer by heart, (4) Theodore Prodromus, the poet (12th century), in a letter in verse addressed to one of his old pupils, (5) and Michael Choniates, who says that his father delivered him to teachers teaching "the preliminary grammar and the selection of the epic cycle". (6)

Nevertheless, in many cases teaching of the poets was very limited or completely omitted from the curriculum of grammar. Such were the cases, for example, of those children whose parents wished for them a religious education only, (7) or the cases of those who specialised as "notarii" or as archivists --"tabularii"--, as we have already noted above. (8) Very common also was the case of those who, after having been instructed in the elements of grammar, continued their education in monasteries.

Teaching of the poets was recommended even by the Church Fathers. Thus St. Basil in his "Address to Young Men" says that "we must be conversant with poets, with historians, with orators, indeed with all men who may further our soul's salvation. (9) But the study of the poets must be selective. "You should not study all of their poems..... When they recount the words and deeds of good men, you should both love and imitate them earnestly emulating such conduct. But when they portray base conduct, you must flee from them and shut up your ears, as Odysseus is said to have fled past the song of the Sirens, for familiarity with evil writing paves the way for evil deeds." (10) Such selective study of poetry is recommended

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- (1) St. Greg. Nyssa: Life of St. Macrina, in Migne P.G. 46, 961 C.
 - (2) St. Neilus: Letters, 49 (to the monk Alexander), in Migne P.G. 79, 220.
 - (3) Life of St. Gregory, bishop of Agragas, in Migne P.G. 116, 216.
 - (4) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother" in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 14.
 - (5) Theodore Prodromus: "Scripta Miscellanea" 9, (to Theodore Stytiotes, the grammarian) line 8, in Migne P.G. 133, 1370.
 - (6) M. Choniates: "In praise of his brother Nicetas" in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc." vol. I, p. 347.
 - (7) St. Greg. Nyssa: Life of St. Macrina, in Migne P.G. 46, 961 C.
 - (8) See above p. 146. The 'tabularius' is also called 'lawyer'.
 - (9) St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc.", 2, in Migne P.G. 31, 568.
 - (10) St. Basil: Ibid.

by other religious personalities, also. (1)

In regard to the poets recommended for study we can say that the first place was given to Homer. Then Hesiod, Pindar, Epicharmus, Archilochus, Nicander and Oppianus were studied. To start with St. Basil again, he gives many examples from Homer's epics and Pindar's poems (2) to show how these poets must be studied. For Homer he says that "all poetry of Homer is a praise of virtue, and with him all that is not merely necessary tends to this end." (3) St. Basil's view seems to have been respected by the Byzantines of all centuries, since Homer was the "main school writer of Byzantines." (4) Theodoro Lascaris (13th century), emperor of Nicaea, speaking about Homer says that "it is the main aim of the wise Homer to praise virtue and he therefore forces every notion to serve this purpose" (5). So much did the Byzantines love and study Homer's poetry that almost all authors mentioned quotations from his epics in their writings. Even religious authors mention him in their theological or other works of religious character or not. Some of them with an astonishing facility and accuracy. An examples we mention: Peter, bishop of Argos (850-after 920), Theophylactus Simocates, Eustathius of Thessalonica, Michael Choniates, Thomas Magister, and many others. (6) Many more, however, are the secular writers who quote Homer in their works. Here are the names - some of them from 11th century onwards, when the study of Homer was pursued with great zeal: Michael Psellus, who wrote allegories in Homer and a translation of Iliad in prose; Anna Comnena in her work "Alexiad" quite often refers to Homer; John Tzetzes, who wrote allegories in Iliad and Odyssey; Nicephorus Gregoras, who, among other treatises on grammar, wrote an abridged interpretation in Homer's Odyssey; (7) and Manuel Moschopoulos, who, among many other text-books for school use, wrote "Comments on Homer", in fact a word by word paraphrase of the text of the first two rhapsodies of Iliad with a detailed technology-parsing, etc., of them. (8)

(1) St. Greg. Naz.: Section II, Poems, 8 (to Soloncus) lines 38-61, in Migne P.G. 37, 1580-81.

(2) St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc." 3, 4, in Migne P.G. 31, 572.

(3) St. Basil: Ibid.

(4) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 117 and 215, vol. I, p. 542, and vol. II, p. 192.

(5) Theodoro Lascaris: "De Naturali Communionis" speech V, 5, in Migne PG. 140, 1351.

(6) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 74, 105, 221, 225, vol. I, pp. 333, 507, vol. II, pp. 260-61, 285.

(7) Nic. Gregoras: "Encomium in Odysseam Homeri", in Migne P.G. 149, 633-72.

(8) K. Krumbacher G.B.L. 128, 184, 219 (3), 224, vol. I, p. 597, vol. II, pp. 62, 244, 280.

In collections of aphorisms and proverbs, too, verses from Homer with moral and philosophical interpretations hold a dominant position. It must be said though, that the study and assimilation of Homer's epics did not take place in the same depth and width by all Byzantines who studied them, or in all Byzantine periods. We do not fall away from the truth, however, by saying that Homer was always a poet studied by the grammar school pupils. Works of high quality on Homer are seen in every age and along with them others of poor content, which may accuse their writers for lack of understanding of Homer's spirit.

Hesiod was another poet whose poems were recommended for study. (1) St. Basil and many other Church Fathers were in favour of his poetry, for it opens to the youth the door towards virtue. "If not to initiate youth to virtue, pray what meaning may we suppose that Hesiod had in those universally admitted lines. (2) 'Rough is the start and hard, and the way steep, and full of labour and pain that leads towards virtue...' " Commenting upon these lines St. Basil says: "Now it seems to me that he had no other purpose in saying these things than so to exhort us to virtue, and so to incite us to bravery, that we may not weaken our efforts before we reach the goal." (3) In fact Hesiod was a poet, only second to Homer perhaps, whose epics were studied in grammar school. From various sources we see that other poets were also taught, like Pindar, Epicharmus, Oppianus, Nicander, Archilochus. (4) In addition St. Gregory of Nazianzus was studied as a poet, though his study was done by those who had already pursued their studies further. (5)

We also have evidence that works of the great tragedians of Greece - Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides - and of comedians like Aristophanes were studied in the schools of encyclical paideia - starting from grammar schools. (6) St. Gregory of Nyssa writes about Macrina's mother that she

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 215, vol. II, p. 192.

(2) Hesiod: "Works and Days", lines 285 ff.

(3) St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc.", 3 in Migne P.O. 31, 572.

(4) Theodora Prodromus; Poems: "To the Emperor Manuel Comnenus", lines 318-23 in Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire, vol. I, pp. 121-22; H. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Sathas B.G.M. vol. V, p. 92; also K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 215, vol. II, 192.

(5) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 184 (5), vol. II. p. 64.

(6) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 215, 266, vol. II, pp. 192-93, 480.

did not like to educate her daughter in the "encyclios paedeia", "for she thought it shameful and altogether improper that a tender and easily moulded nature should be taught either about sufferings (tragic passions), such as the stories about women who gave the poets their motive to write, and their subject-matter, or about the indecencies of comedy, and so be corrupted in a manner by the more undignified accounts of female matters"(1) We clearly see here that tragedies and comedies were included in the curriculum of schools of encyclical paedeia. Gregory of Cyprus says that he was taught in school that "the sons of Oedipus went mad with one another and slew one another," and about "the other stories which the band of poets in the freedom of their art create and invent..." (2) Krumbacher, speaking about dramatic poetry, says that during Byzantine times "it was left to school study and to reading." (3)

The question now remains what the teaching of poets, tragedians and comedians aimed at and how those works were taught in schools. We have already noted that this instruction was related to grammar study, and also that as a rule the poets' works should be examined for their moral content mainly. (4) But many Byzantines asked that attention should be paid to the form of the poems studied as well. Michael Psellus informs us that instruction of poetica dealt with the form of speech, with the question whether the choice of the words was the right one or not, with metaphors, etc., and with the fitted arrangement of the words. (5) Attention was also paid to the metres in which the poems were written. Michael Choniates, referring to his teacher Eustathius says that "if any of those who go about (attend school) with a volume of poetry under the arm needed to be initiated into the laws of metre or the rhythms of harmony or the explanation of the etymology of words, or to be entertained by stories of anciently-told deeds", the venerable teacher used to give them all to the

(1) St. Greg. Nyssa: Life of St. Macrina, in Migne P.G. 46, 961.

(2) Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis Historiae sermo res suas continens", in Migne P.G. 142, 25.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 266, vol. II, p. 480.

(4) St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc.", 2, in Migne P.G. 31, 568.

(5) Speaking about his own knowledge of Homer's Iliad, Psellus says that "he knew epic poetry not only in a general way, but also in its form and manner, its well situated metaphors, and harmony of composition". M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Sathas PGII vol. V, p. 14.

pupil so that the pupil "returned perfectly acquainted (as a complete spectator') and not altogether defective in the higher mysteries." (1) In this quotation we see that instruction in this subject paid attention to the form of the poetic speech and to the examination of the text from the language and content point of view. Much attention was paid to the finding out of the deepest meaning of the poem under examination, and not merely to the delight coming out of the examination of its form. Michael Psellus is very emphatic on this point when he praises Nicetas the grammarian, professor in the higher school of Grammar of the University during the days of his professorship: "Such a disciple of Homer was he, not paying attention to the mere word like most people, not allowing his ear to be bewitched by the metre, not attending only to the visible, but seeking the hidden beauty, analysing the material by reason and contemplation, and penetrating the inmost recesses. Thus he came to know writers like Epicharmus, Archilochus, Nicander, and Pindar, and other poets... He becoming learned in this way about such things, and charming every ear and every mind that loved wisdom and learning, discussing the word (myth) elegantly and gently explaining it and most deftly untying the knot of its thought, he was judged worthy of the highest praise in such matters (as the upper grade) and here then shone forth still more, inventing his own light." (2) The phrases 'and not altogether defective in higher mysteries', by Michael Choniates, and 'gently explaining it and most deftly untying the knot of its thought', by Michael Psellus, show clearly how much the Byzantines valued a deep examination of the texts from the content point of view. This testimony refers to the teaching of poetry to students who had completed their elementary instruction of the subject in the grammar school. (3) But the technique was the same in both cases.

It is interesting to observe here that the examination of the content of a poem was done from two aspects: first, the "φανόμενον νόημα" - the apparent meaning - and second, its concealed meaning. (4) Michael

(1) M. Choniates: Monodia in Eustathium Thessalonicensis, 13, in Migne P.G. 140, 341.

(2) M. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 92.

(3) M. Choniates: Ibid 14, in Migne P.G. 343 A-D.

(4) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 399, vol. III, pp. 236-42.

Psellus, for instance, assures us that he "never ceased allegorising the myths of Greeks", considering this work as an important and necessary task for a really educated person. (1) He proved it by his work, "Allegories in Homer". (2) John Tzetzes, who valued very much allegorical explanation of Greek texts, wrote an allegorical explanation of Iliad and Odyssey in the form of didactic poems in blank verse. (3) In this connection we must say that the Byzantines took very seriously the matter of the allegorical explanation of Homer's epics, since they liked to have Homer's wisdom incorporated in their spiritual world as created by Christianity. (4)

However, the Byzantines extended their allegorical explanations to other works also. Thus we have an effort for an allegorical explanation of Aesop's Fables. Theodoro Prodromus, on the other hand, following an old tradition, wrote a poem "Verses on the twelve months" where a description of allegorical pictures of the twelve months is given and another small poem where he gives an allegorical picture of life. (5)

In addition we have John Tzetzes's specific work on the method of allegorising with illustrations. (6) Long before the writers of the 12th century we have a work attributed to a woman Demo (not before the second half of the 5th century), where an effort is made for an allegorical presentation of the natural and philosophical theories in Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. Extracts from this work are found in Eustathius of Thessalonica's comments on Iliad and Odyssey. That allegory was thought of as a necessary element of a good commentary by Byzantines we hear from Tzetzes himself. In his prelude to his work "Notes in Hesiod's 'Works and Days' and the Shield of Heracles" (written before 1138) he writes on the topic of how

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- (1) H. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. V, p. 61.
 (2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 184(2), vol. II, p. 62.
 (3) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 219, vol. II, p. 244.
 (4) Arethas (10th century), for instance, says about Homer that he put his poetry in the form of myths, but "if anyone wants to obey me, he will no longer think it worth while to study these myths, but (rather to study) keenly only the allegorical interpretation of the deeds (in them), which provides something profitable to all." Arethas of Caesarea: Letter 3 (to Stephen) in S. Kouyucas: "Arethas of Caesarea etc.", IV, 3, p. 146.
 (5) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 313 (98), vol. II, p. 707. The first poem is titled "Στίχοι εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα μῆνας" and the second Εἰς εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον"
 (6) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 219 (12), vol. II, pp. 253-54.

commentaries should be composed that the critic should speak apart from the poet's origins etc., about the aim and the content of the work under review, the metre and finally the allegorical interpretation of the myths.(1)

The method of allegorical interpretation of texts was not a Byzantine invention, but it found many admirers in Byzantine times. From the 5th century B.C. in Athens we notice the belief that Homer, under the cover of the myth, conceals a certain theory, of which the morals can be known only by an allegorical explanation of the myth. "The Porioleans" Bolgar admits, "had disliked the immortal stories told about the gods, which did not square with their own rationalist ethics." So they tried to reconcile their ideas with those myths about gods. "So they had hit on the idea of saying that to talk about the gods was a picturesque way of talking about the forces of nature." (2) In the Hellenistic age, as H.I. Marrou says, "by a kind of allegorical exegesis, Homer was used to throw light on philosophy itself. But all this was mere foolishness". (3) Plutarch later on expresses similar views on Homer's poetry, and St. Basil is one of the first Byzantines, who repeats the same argument, of which we have already spoken above. (4) From this time onwards we see many Byzantine writers offering allegorical exegesis not only of Homer's myths but of other myths also, in their wish to make familiar to their contemporaries the wisdom of pagan writers of the past. Such individuals were Michael Psellus, John Tzetzes and others. (5) Ideas on several topics except myths were also expressed in the form of allegory. Such was, for instance, the allegorical poem on prudence by Mosetiniotes with the title "A love story, but a most prudent one..." (6) We also have those ecclesiastical writers who attempted the allegorical exegesis of the Bible, for it was supported that "whatever exists and

(1) K. Krumbacher: C.B.L., 219 (7), vol. II, p. 248.

(2) B.R. Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 80.

(3) H.I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part I, ch. I, p. 10 and Part II, ch. VII, p. 169, where Marrou quotes the following example of such an allegorical exegesis: "Ulysses, who symbolises the Wise Man, escapes from the Sirens, and thus teaches us to flee from temptation, both physical and spiritual."

(4) See above p. 18, 175.

(5) B.R. Bolgar: Ibid, p. 80, where he quotes some examples of allegorical exegesis given by Psellus and Tzetzes.

(6) K. Krumbacher: C.B.L., 327, vol. II, p. 763.

happens in nature conceals some mysterious relation to the truth of apocalypsis and the religious matters." (1) The same holds true for proverbs, and other religious truths, according to many religious writers.

Such an attempt for allegorical exegesis of poems and other texts, however, though a delightful intellectual exercise, did not improve the deeper understanding of Homer's epics and of other texts. This becomes obvious from the examination of the works of this kind left by several Byzantine writers.

From what has been said we get an idea of the method of instruction in poetics as well. If we add to these sources what we know about the way these works were taught in the grammar schools of the Hellenistic age we may outline the process of instruction as follows:

(i) Criticism of the text - δ' ἰόρθωσις - because of differences seen in the various manuscripts being in the pupils' hands.

(ii) "Expressive reading" - ἀνάγνωσις - by the teacher. This was necessary because no signs of punctuation were used in the old days and it was difficult to read a text properly so as to give its real meaning to the student.

(iii) Explanation - ἑρμηνεία - of the text was one of the tasks to which much time and effort was devoted. It included the following steps: First, the literal explanation of the text, that is an effort to make the actual meaning of the poem obvious. The special vocabulary of the poets presented great difficulties to the grammar school boy. Thus a "word by word" translation of the passage studied had to be done by the pupil. H.I. Marrou quotes a well-known example of such a task in his work from Homer's Iliad, rhapsody A, which clearly illustrates this: (2)

A. 1. Πηληϊάδεω	καὶ δὲ τοῦ Πηλέως
'Αχιλλῆος	τοῦ 'Αχιλλέως
2. οὐλομένην	δλεθρίαν
ἣ	ἥτις
μύρια	κολλά
'Αχαιοῖς	τοῖς Ἑλλησι
ἄλγεα	κακά
ἔθηκεν	έκοίησεν

(1) K. Krumbacher: C.M.L., 339, vol. III, p. 237.

(2) H.I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part II, ch. VII, p. 167.

The pupil had to translate every difficult word or expression in his spoken language and learn their meaning. This is the technique of "ψυχαιωγία", that is the first steps of scholography of the traditional kind. (1) This was also true as regards the teaching of prose writers as we shall see below. It was at this point that dictionaries were useful means to the students. Soon after this task the study of the form of the poem - that is "morphology" - took place. Michael Psellus gives us an idea of what this task was like: The various figures of speech, metaphors, etc., the manner of expression appropriate to poetry, the harmonious placing of words in verses, the metres in which the poems had been written, all those, Psellus says, had to be studied at this stage of poetry teaching. (2) Michael Choniates informs us that after this the pupils were occupied "with etymological research." (3)

Then their attention was turned to the content of the passage being studied. At first the teacher had to give his pupils every information on anything mentioned by the poet: persons, places, events. (4) The more information the teacher could provide on this stage the more he was valued in Byzantine times. Mythology and history had an outstanding place here, too. The practice to pay so much attention to this stage of poetry instruction had its origin in the grammar school of the Hellenistic era. (5)

The final stage of the examination of the content of a poem was literary criticism or judgement. The best Byzantine teachers teaching poetry on an advanced level paid much attention to this task. (6) The judgement of the text, however, turned on to the morals which could be drawn out of it

(1) See above pp. 168 ff.

(2) See above p. 177.

(3) M. Choniates: "Monodia in Eustathium Thessalonicensis", 13, in Wigne P.G. 140, 341 D.

(4) M. Choniates: Ibid, 13, 14, in Wigne P.G. Ibid, 341 D - 343 A.

(5) H.I. Harrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part II, ch. VII, p. 169; where his comments on this point are very interesting: "...as the centuries rolled on, the reason why it was a good thing to study the poets became more and more hazy in the Greek consciousness until, from the time of Plutarch to the time of St. Basil, the question had become simply a subject on which to exercise one's skill. As so often happens, the means had become an end: the study of the classics had become an object in itself, and no-one quite knew why it was so important to be acquainted with them."

(6) M. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Sathas D.C.M., vol. V, p. 92.

The teachers of grammar schools, like their precursors of the Hellenistic era, (1) tried to find out moral examples to present to their pupils for imitation. It was for this reason that they used, among other techniques, the allegorical exegesis of myths and anecdotes included in the poems which were taught in the schools of *encyclion paedeia*.

(3) PROSE WRITERS

Though the teaching of poets had the dominant place in the schools of *encyclion paedeia*, prose writers were also taught in these schools. In fact, we know that works of Greek historians, especially Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, some works of Plutarch, and particularly the treatise "On the Education of Children" attributed to him, the well-known myth on virtue by Prodicus, (2) were studied in these schools. (3) Speeches of Church Fathers of "moral and admonitory" content had also their place in the curriculum. But it was only in secondary and higher schools run by the Church that an extensive study of such works was done. In fact, in such schools the first place was given to the study of the Bible and of works by St. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, (4) Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and in later periods of John of Climax, John of Damascus, (5) etc.

In addition, from the works of orators speeches of Demosthenes, (6) of Isocrates and Lysias, and later of Libanius (7) the sophist, St. Gregory of Nazianzus and others were studied. The extensive study of such works was the task of the schools of rhetoric and of the University, of course. No doubt many more texts were studied individually at home by those who were fond of learning. (8) It seems, however, that from the Greek writers

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- (1) H. I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity" Part II, ch. VII, p. 169ff
 - (2) St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc." 4, in Migne P.G. 31, 573.
 - (3) K. Krumbacher G.E.L. 215, vol. II, pp. 192-93.
 - (4) Photius: Letters, 44, (to Amphilochius), in Migne P.G. 102, 861.
 - (5) See Photius: "Myriobiblos", in Migne P.G. 103, 41 ff; K. Krumbacher: G.E.L. 215, vol. II, p. 193.
 - (6) Procopius of Gaza: Letters, 57 (to Jeronymus), in Migne P.G. 87², 2764.
 - (7) Photius: "Myriobiblos": XC Speeches and Epistles of Libanius, in Migne P.G. 103, 296; Photius: Letters, 44 (to Amphilochius) in Migne P.G. 102, 861; Theodore Prodromus: Poems: "To the Emperor Manuel Comnenus" line 317, in Bibliotheca Graeca Vulgare, vol. I, p. 121.
 - (8) See, for instance, in Photius: "Myriobiblos", in Migne P.G. 103, 41ff; also Alexander N. Loutsas: "History of Thessalonica" vol. II, ch. 14, pp. 191-222; Basil Laourdas: "The Classical Philology in Thessalonica during the 14th century", pp. 6-28.

Plutarch and Isocrates had always a predominant place in the free study of the Byzantines next to Homer. In general, in every work by all distinguished Byzantine writers we see the influence in style, form and thought of the prose writers of Greece, a fact that proves by itself how well the latter were taught in the schools of *encyclios paideia* or by individual teachers. And it is only the difference in religious faith that makes the finest works of the Byzantines differ from those of the ancients. (1)

As far as the study at school of prose writers is concerned we can say that only selected works and extracts from ancient prose authors had been introduced in the curriculum. We come to this conclusion from the fact that the "series" - "Σειραί" - in prose which we possess have such a scheme which serves linguistic and educational aims, in general. (2)

In regard to the method of instruction of prose texts this was more or less the same as that followed in the instruction of poems. (3) The teacher first read aloud the text in the class. Then a systematic attempt at its understanding followed. The teacher encouraged his pupils to ask questions in his effort to impart the "spirit" of the text being studied - which usually consisted of a complete chapter - by illustrating matters of geography, history, mythology, etc. After the pupils had got the meaning of the text, written work was given to them - for consolidation mainly - in a way much the same as that applied in the schools of the Hellenistic age. The pupil had to write down the text in one of the following ways: either as it was done in the "word by word" writing and translation of poems vertically, (4) or by writing the whole text along the page with broad interlinear spaces for the writing of the meanings of words, phrases, etc. This method was called *Ψυχαστοχία* and was widely used not only during the Byzantine period, but also afterwards in the schools of Greece.

(1) See S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", ch. X, pp. 241-42.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 215, vol. II, p. 194, (footnote 3).

(3) See above pp 176 ff.

(4) See above p. 180.

Innumerable notebooks of pupils practicing in prose writers are found in the libraries of some monasteries (1) and elsewhere. Here is such an example from Theoclyides: (2)

"Ακουσον, παιδί μου, τὴν ἰδικήν μου συμβουλήν.
 Ἀποάσθητι, ὦ τέκνον μου, τὴν ἰδικήν μου παραινέσιν.
 Ἐνωτίσθητι, ὦ μαθητά μου, τὴν ἰδικήν μου ἐρμηνείαν.
 Ἀκουσον, ὦ παῖ, τῆς ἐμῆς συμβουλῆς"

Generally the pupil wrote the text at the teacher's dictation, completed its translation into spoken Greek, and then delivered it to his teacher who in turn corrected the written passage and made his own remarks on the text and the pupil's translation. When the text was to be translated at home by the pupil, correction on the text had to be done beforehand at school to avoid misunderstanding. (3) The critical comments given above (4) concerning scholography need not, I think, be repeated here.

(4) HISTORY

Language instruction was done through the study of prose writers, as we have said, among whom many were historians. This means that the pupils used to acquire much historical knowledge from the study of historical books, at the stage of literal and literary explanation of the texts. We have said that at this stage the teacher found the opportunity to give detailed accounts of all historical persons and events in the text. He did this with pleasure, because he could thus show himself off to his pupils as a learned man and as a person moved by patriotic feelings, arising out of the pride created by the marvellous event of the ancient Greek history. Therefore, even if we are willing to accept that history was not taught as a separate subject, the pupils of the schools of encyclical prodomia learned many things on historical matters through the study of historians. And we can maintain that the pupils knew quite well basic historical events, such as the Persian Wars and other events up to Alexander the Great's campaigns at least. The main event of the Byzantine history were naturally also taught to the pupils, (5) and Greek mythology, especially the Tale of Troy (6)

(1) For instance in the monastery of St. John Theologos in Patmos. /p.65.

(2) The example is quoted by Tryphon E. Evangelidis: "The Schools of Greece"/

(3) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines" vol. A, I, p. 116.

(4) See above p. 171.

(5) Theodore Prodromus: Scripta Miscellanea, 9 (to Theodore Stytiotes, the grammarian) lines 10-80, in Migne P.G. 133, 1370 B ff.

(6) Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis Historiae sermo res suas continens", in Migne P.G. 142, 25.

That teachers insisted on historical matters during language and rhetoric instruction we gather from other sources, too. We know, for instance, that the Byzantines respected their tradition and always tried to keep alive the memories of their forefathers' past, for whose deeds they were proud indeed. In a letter to "Adamantius" St. Gregory of Nazianzus says that is is an old practice to study ancient History and recommends to him to study history earnestly and deeply: "Do you bring me the fruits of your wisdom not with undue attention to details, nor obscurely, but with a very clear demonstration and nobly, since we value highly our heroes like Kynaegiros and Kallimachus and the trophies of Marathon and Salamis through which they are considered fortunate and which make the young happy." (1) No doubt such a study created national pride and a sound patriotic feeling to the student.

In addition in the pages of historical texts the pupils could find heroic deeds to imitate and vile actions to criticize and to dislike: "You would learn from such study," the Emperor Basil I says to his royal son Leo, "about the virtues of the good, and the vices of the bad, the manifold changes of life, and the shifts of circumstances in it, the instability of the world and the readiness of governments to fall, and briefly the retributions of evil and the rewards of good deeds, of which you may avoid the former and so not have experience of the resulting penalty, and succeed in achieving the latter and so be judged worthy of the resulting prizes". (2) The idea of acquiring experience through historical examples, propagated by Isocrates and expressed centuries later by Rousseau in his "Emile", was common faith in Byzantium. Naturally this study helps the young person in the formation of good character. (3)

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- (1) St. Greg. Naz.: Letters, 235 (to Adamantius), in Migne P.G. 37, 377 C-D. In another letter "to Ablabius" St. Gregory writes: "I learn that you love sophistry and that it is remarkable how seriously you discourse, how sublimely and exaltedly you walk; that your theme takes you to Marathon and Salamis, to those fair monuments of ours; and that you think of nothing but men like Miltiades and Kallimachus and Kynaegiros and Telomachus and have contrived everything cleverly and as closely as possible to the task.": letter 233 (to Ablabius) in Migne P.G. 37, 376 B.
 - (2) Basil I: "Paraenesis ad Leonem Filium: 'De studio legendi historiarum'", in Migne P.G. 107, XLIX; St. Basil: "Address to Young Men etc.", 4, in Migne P.G. 31, 576.
 - (3) Basil I Ibid "De studio litterarum" in Migne P.G. 107, LVI; Nicoph. Callistus: Ecclesiastical History, I, 1, in Migne P.G. 145, 604 B-605; Theodore Metochitos: "Index praesentis libri etc.", ch. 94: "It is useful to pupils to withdraw and turn away from things through an example", in Migne P.G. 144, 944.

The study of history was also recommended as a means to the cultivation of judgement (1) and the acquisition of wisdom (2) and experience that "others have gathered labouriously." (3)

In fact, the Greek historians were studied in the schools of encyclopaedia - starting from grammar schools. We understand this from the great number of Byzantine historians and their attempt to imitate creatively the ancient historians as much as they could in the vocabulary, phraseology and style they used. (4) Anyone who reads historians and prose writers of the Byzantine period gets this feeling.

Among the events of Greek history the Persian Wars were kept more vivid in the memory of Byzantine people of all times. The learned Byzantines, chronographers, historians, and so on, always referred to these glorious pages of Greek history. It was mainly the chronographers, writing in the spoken idiom for the vast majority of the Byzantines, who contributed more than anyone else outside the schools so that these great events might become known to a broader circle of people.

(5) SHORTHAND

Shorthand was a subject which could be taught in grammar schools by specialists. However, it could be taught as a separate subject, independently of the others, either at school to those boys who wanted to specialise in it and become "notarii", or outside school by specialists. St. Gregory of Nazianzus in a letter addressed to a clergyman called Theodore, tells him that "the sons of the most honourable Nicoboulus have come to the city to learn shorthand." (5) and asks him to protect them. Eunomius,

(1) St. Basil: On Hex. II, 3, in Migne P.G. 29, 33 C.

(2) St. Greg. Naz.: Poems, 4, "Nicobuli Filii ad Patrem", lines 61-2: "It is good to have a mind stocked with history, for history is united with the intellect of many men", in Migne P.G. 37, 1510.

(3) Basil I: "Paroemia ad Leonem Filium: 'De studio legendi historiarum'" in Migne P.G. 107, XLIX.

(4) S. Runciman in his book "Byzantine Civilisation" ch. X, p. 240, says: "Byzantium could boast a long series of intelligent and able writers far outnumbering those of any contemporary nation." Speaking about their qualities Runciman says (p. 245): "The historians of Byzantium compare favourably with those of any other nation till modern times. In style, judgement, subtlety and critical ability they far outstand their contemporaries in the West..."

(5) St. Greg. Naz.: Letters, 157 (to Theodore), in Migne P.G. 37, 265 A.

a son of peasants, started his career as a secretary to bishop Aetius, follower of Arius, owing to his knowledge of shorthand, which he had acquired soon after he had learned the "sacred letters", to get rid of his father's job. (1)

"Notarii" were needed during these times both for the administration services and the Church. The State, for instance, was in need of them all the time. Minutes of official meetings had to be recorded and urgent orders to be given in the shortest time possible. This was a task that lower civil servants, the "notarii", could perform, owing to their ability to write down quickly everything said and ordered. Every high official could have at least one such servant. We are told that the chief of the guards Theognostus got a young boy whom he gave to be taught the "sacred letters" and learn shorthand afterwards. This boy at the age of twelve knew shorthand very well and "raised up to the post of a notarius being profitable to his master." (2) The Church also used the "notarii" on a large scale, as secretaries to hierarchs, as minute writers, as writers of sermons by famous hierarchs, and so on. (3)

From the post of "notarius" a person could secure a better career sometimes⁽⁴⁾, if one had a patron to help him. Such, by the way, was the case with Eunomius, the well-known champion of Arianism. We must not, then, be surprised to hear from Theodoritus that wherever in the Byzantine Empire one opened a school in which one promised to teach shorthand side by side with grammar one could find many pupils without any difficulty. (5) The teachers of grammar, therefore, tried to teach their pupils this valuable subject, or take special shorthand teachers - σημειογράφαι; or νοτάριοι

(1) See H.I. Harrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part III, ch. VIII, p. 313.

(2) Life of St. Andrew Salas, 2, in Migne P.G. 111, 632 B.

(3) St. J. Chrys.: On Heb (title), in Migne P.G. 63, 9-10; Syreon Metaphrastes: Life of St. John Chrysostom, 42, in Migne P.G. 114, 1157 C; Socrates: Eccl. Hist. II, 39, in Migne P.G. 67, 333 B. Socrates mentions here that in the local council of Seleucia of Isauria "there were present shorthand writers, too, who wrote down the words of the speakers."

(4) Macarius of Egypt: Homiliae Spirituales: Hom. 15, 41, in Migne PG. 34, 604.

(5) See H.I. Harrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part III, ch. VIII, p. 313.

καὶ δοδιδάσκαλοι, ἢ ὀξυγράφοι " (1) - to teach it to them. We are told that St. Athanasius "after a short interval of time, when he had been thoroughly trained by the shorthand writer and sufficiently by the grammarian, he was at once ... handed over to the priest by his parents", to make his career as a clergyman. (2) The biographer of St. Nicolas of Studium also informs us about a simultaneous instruction in shorthand and grammar: "When with advancing years he had practised very intelligently and labouriously the introductory lessons, it was necessary for him to provide himself also with as much knowledge of grammar as would enable him to write correctly, having turned out a most useful shorthand writer"(3) From these passages we see clearly enough that the "σημειογράφος" - shorthand teacher - was a specialist, who taught shorthand only, and that the teacher of grammar was not always the same person who taught shorthand as well. From other sources we get information that shorthand could also be taught on a higher level. Lazarus Calasiotis (967-1-53), for instance, after having finished his elementary studies, was sent by his parents on the advice of his uncle, to a certain notarius called Georgius, who lived at Orobei, as a pupil. Lazarus studied near Georgius for three years, which means that this teacher was not a mere "notarius" but a rather a grammarian teaching grammar and shorthand at the same time. This view is reinforced by the information which follows: After this term Lazarus's uncle "took him back in the monastery in order to be instructed in matters of the Church, and at the same time to be at his service as an assistant." Two years later Lazarus was sent by his uncle "to the monastery of Strobilos to another notarius named Nicolas, for further instruction in the science of the notarii." (4) It is worth noticing here that the advanced teaching of shorthand was given in a monastery by a specialist in the subject.

As for the time needed for the study of shorthand we can say that a two-year course was enough, provided that instruction of shorthand was regular and continuous. (5) Theognotus's secretary, Andrews, spent two

(1) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, pp. 118-19.

(2) Moschus: "Pratum Spirituale", ch. 197, in Migne P.G. 87³, 3085 A.

(3) Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 872 B-C.

(4) H.J. Cedeon: Information from the Typicon of the monasteries of mount Calasion, Constantinople (1898), p. 11.

(5) P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 119 (footnote 1).

years in this study.(1) In the case of Lazarus Caleniotos we seem to have a longer period devoted to the study of shorthand. However, the fact that Lazarus remained near "notarius Georgius for three years shows that his teacher was a grammarian, properly speaking. Otherwise, there could be no reason for Lazarus to spend two years at a later period to study shorthand. Surely he had received some preliminary instruction in shorthand under "notarius" Georgius, but its systematic study came afterwards, near Nicolas.

In regard to other matters concerning the instruction of shorthand we have St. Basil's information that "σημεία - signs - were taught, that is symbols by which the letters of the alphabet, syllables, groups of letters, and words were represented. (2) No need to say that the learning of shorthand demanded hard training, strenuous exercise, much effort, and "quickness of the mind" - that is intelligence - "which is chiefly responsible for success in such matters in most cases." (3)

(1) Life of St. Andrews Salus in Migne P.G. 111, 632 B.

(2) St. Basil: "De vera virginatis integritate" 31, in Migne P.G. 30,733 A.

(3) Anonymous Life of St. Nicolas of Studium, in Migne P.G. 105, 872 B.

(6) QUADRIVIVUM

The study of quadrivium - that is the four subjects of Mathematics: Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy, known as τέσσαρα μαθήματα or μαθηματικὴ τετρακύβη (1) - was considered as necessary for those who dreamed to complete their education and reach the τρεῖς ὁλοτερεὰ μαθήματα, that is the study of philosophy. Quadrivium always had its place in the curriculum of the schools of general education. An anonymous author speaking of the necessity and the value of the study of quadrivium (mathematics) says: "Nicomachus proves that without the knowledge of mathematics one cannot be a philosopher, not be happy ... One cannot be happy without philosophy; and philosophy cannot be without mathematics. Therefore, one cannot be happy without mathematics." (2) In general the subjects of quadrivium were thought of as "the four servants of true knowledge" with philosophy as their mistress." (3)

The study of the four subjects of quadrivium was pursued on various levels, depending on the stage at which they were taught and on the teacher's qualifications. In the school of grammar and of rhetoric they were taught rather superficially, without entering into many details. On the contrary, these subjects were fully studied on a university level, in the University of Constantinople and other higher institutions serving the study of sciences. We must not stay, however, with the impression that quadrivium included only these four subjects (4) as we know them today. In these subjects others were included as well, like Nature study, Physics and Geography. (5) Generally speaking quadrivium was not omitted from the curriculum of schools of liberal education throughout the Byzantine era. But its study was pursued with great interest during the last three centuries of the Byzantine period in Constantinople, Trebizond, and some other provincial towns. (6)

(1) Life of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople 45, in Migne P.G. 100, 57; Anna Comnena: "Alexiad" I, 1, vol. I, p. 4 (Bonn).

(2) See D. Cotsakis: "The sciences during the last three centuries in Byzantium", p. 14, where the above passage is quoted.

(3) G. Buckler in Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium", ch. VII on "Byzantine Education", p. 206.

(4) E. Psellus: "On Constantine's (Monomachus) advent to the throne", in K. Sathas B.G.H. vol. IV, p. 121.

(5) John Tzetzes: Chiliades, Chil. XI, ch. 381 "On Geometry and Optics", lines 593-623.

(6) Valuable information about Quadrivium is given by E. Krumbacher G.B.L. 260, vol. II, pp. 429-34.

(a) ARITHMETIC

Arithmetic as a science of numbers and their interrelations had taken specific form from the time of Pythagoras, and as a subject it was studied in the schools of ancient Greece, of Hellenistic and of Graeco-Roman period. Considerable progress had been made when Euclid wrote his excellent work "Elements" about 300 B.C., which became the main hand-book in the instruction of Arithmetic and Geometry. Original works on Arithmetic had been written by some other mathematicians, too. Thus Nicarchus wrote his work "Introduction to Numbers", Nicomachus his "Introduction to Arithmetic" (100 A.D.) and Diophantus his "Arithmetica" (middle of 4th century A.D.), a very systematic work on the subject. With such perfect works in their hands the Byzantines could not easily go further. They only dealt with commentaries of the above classical works on arithmetic, which were widely used in their schools. Thus Proclus (5th century), Marinus (end of 5th century), Simplicius (beginning of 6th century), and Leo the philosopher (9th century) wrote commentaries on Euclid's works on arithmetic. John Philoponus (6th century) wrote a commentary on Nicomachus's work on arithmetic, and Maximus Planudes a commentary on the first book of "Arithmetica" by Diophantus. Domninus of Larissa (6th century) wrote a text-book on arithmetic and Isidore and Anthemius, the architects (6th century), who applied arithmetic in practice, also wrote several essays and commentaries on arithmetic. Later Michael Psellus wrote a book on quadrivium, a mere selection of the works of Euclid and other ancient Greek mathematicians, and, therefore, it claims no originality at all. On the section devoted to arithmetic we see very clearly the influence of Pythagorians and the platonic notion on the theory of numbers. (1) A similar but more important work on Quadrivium was written by George Pachymeres. (2) For teaching arithmetic according to the Arabic system of counting Maximus Planudes wrote a

(1) See Sophia Sakellariou's article on "Psellus' contribution to the field of the science of mathematics" in "To the memory of Alexander Gialas", edited by the Christian Union of Professional Men of Greece, Athens, 1958, pp. 344 ff.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 126, vol. I, p. 583 Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων, ἀριθμητικῆς, μουσικῆς, γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας.

very important text-book (about 1303), (1) the first book of this kind. In the second half of the 14th century Isaac Argyrus, pupil of Nicephorus Gregoras, dealt successfully with matters of arithmetic, geometry and trigonometry. Manuel Moschopoulos also dealt with arithmetic and wrote several essays on it. We must also refer to Nicolas Habbas of Smyrna, who dealt with certain additions and improvements of his own, and wrote two essays on the better use of the old method of counting by fingers(2) and another essay on more difficult problems of arithmetic. (3)

From what has been said above it becomes clear that the material taught was taken from the works on Arithmetic by Euclid, Nicarchus, Nicomachus and Diophantus. The teachers were free to teach whatever they thought essential and necessary knowledge in arithmetic. But on the whole proper instruction on the following topics was given by the teachers of mathematics: the integral numbers and their processes; the names of numbers according to their characteristic qualities, (4) that is distinction of numbers in even and odd, in perfect and imperfect, in solid and plain, in "similar" - "ὅμοιοι" (5), etc; fractions and compound numbers with the basic processes were also taught; (6) the proportions and their rules as well as the arithmetical progressions, etc. (7) Topics of Algebra were also taught, among which the definitions of "cubes", of cubocubes, of arithmetical and geometrical proportions, etc. (8)

Special interest was shown in the theory of arithmetic by the teachers and students of general education. This theory was distinguished into the theory of linear and that of plan and solid numbers, according to the notions of Pythagorians. Many of the Byzantines paid attention also to

(1) See above p. 124.

(2) See D. Cotsakis: "The sciences during the last three centuries in Byzantium", p. 14 Παράδοσις σύντομος καὶ σαφειάτη ψηφοφορίας ἐπιστήμης.

(3) See D. Kotsakis: Ibid.

(4) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines", vol. A, I, pp. 128-30.

(5) Similar - ὅμοιοι - numbers were called those having analogous sides, e.g. the numbers 8 and 32 are similar because 8 is the product of 4×2 and 32 the product of 8×4 . See St. Greg. Nysa, in Migne P.G. 45, 192.

(6) St. Neilus: Letters, in Migne P.G. 79, 66; Theophylactus: Letters, 71 (to Camaterus), in Migne P.G. 126, 493.

(7) H. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Nathan B.G.M., vol. V, p. 55.

(8) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines" vol. A, I, p. 130; Theophylactus: Letters, 71 "Gregorio Camatero Logothetae", in Migne P.G. 126, 493 C.

the secret qualities of numbers, though difficult to apprehend. Psellus discriminated the numbers into intellectually perceived numbers mathematical and physical numbers, (1) following Iamblichus's views as expressed in his work "The Theology of Numbers".

(b) GEOMETRY

The commonest name of the subject was "geometry", though in some texts it is called either $\eta \epsilon \nu \gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \alpha \tau \iota \varsigma \theta \epsilon \omega \rho \iota \alpha$, (2) or $\gamma \rho \alpha \mu \mu \iota \kappa \acute{\eta}$, (3) or $\gamma \epsilon \omega \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \iota \kappa \acute{\eta}$ (4)

Geometry was one of the most popular subjects taught in the Byzantine schools throughout the Byzantine period. It aimed both at practical and theoretical purposes, as in antiquity. In one of his essays Michael Psellus speaks about the aims of geometry. (5) In another poem he recommends the study of geometry for its practical value and gives a lot of geometrical material in it. (6) In his 'Chiliades' John Tzetzes devoted a whole chapter to geometry, enumerating the practical purposes served by it. (7)

Geometry was studied not only for its practical use, but also because it helped the study of other subjects like astronomy, for instance, and because it was an excellent mental exercise, which could cultivate the student's intellect and thus prepare the ground for the study of philosophy.

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- (1) M. Psellus: "Περὶ ἡθικῆς ἢ θεολογικῆς ἀριθμητικῆς".
"As there are numbers pertaining to nature, so there are others pertaining to morals. For the beginning of the whole philosophy of morals is the measure, and the moderate first considered in the essence of numbers: also the limit, the perfect, order, the mean analogy..." The text in Greek is quoted in Sophia Sakellariou's article on "Psellus' contribution to the field of the science of mathematics", in "To the memory of Alexander Gialas", p. 347.
 - (2) Theodore Prodromus: Scripta Miscellanea: "In eos qui ob paupertatem providantiae conviciantur", in Migne P.G. 133, 1297.
 - (3) M. Psellus: Apologetic Speeches, Speech 4, in K. Athan B.C.M., vol. V, p. 186.
 - (4) Theodore Balsamon: "Responsa ad Interrogationes Marci", 24, in Migne P.G. 138, 977. A..
 - (5) See K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 184, vol. II, p. 60, "On the purpose of Geometry". "Περὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς γεωμετρίας".
 - (6) The poem begins with the words: "Learn perfectly the mensure of lands, if you like" - "Μαθεῖν εἰ βούλει ἀρίστα μέτρον τῶν χωραφίων".
 - (7) John Tzetzes: "Chiliades", Chil. XI, ch. 331 "On Geometry and Optics", lines/

Those who knew the theory of geometry were highly honoured by the educated Byzantines. Michael Psellus in his address to the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus incites him to "praise those who know to inscribe a triangle in a circle, and a circle in a triangle". (1) Elsewhere Psellus defends the Guardian of Laws because he knew, among other things, very difficult theorems of plain geometry. (2)

The main book for the instruction of geometry was Euclid's "Elements". Many Byzantine teachers gave commentaries of this work in the form of text-books for their pupils. Among them were the Alexandrians Pappus, Theon and Diophantus, the philosopher Proclus, Simplicius, who explained Euclid, Stephan of Alexandria, Leo the philosopher, Michael Psellus, etc. During the last three centuries of the Byzantine Empire we have an increasing interest in the study of quadrivium with the result that geometry was studied with greater zeal than before. (3) Nicephorus Blommydos and George Pachymeres also dealt with geometry in their writings on quadrivium and side by side with them many of those who devoted themselves to the study of astronomy.

The topics taught were taken from plain and solid geometry and they were given in the order found in Euclid's "Elements" and according to Euclid's method of instruction, the proofs, the definitions, etc. given by him. (4) We are sure of this, because the text-books of geometry with all their comments etc. written in various periods in Byzantium present no difference from Euclid's works on geometry. We may take as a striking example either Psellus' collection of writings on Quadrivium or the similar

contd from previous page

(7) lines 593 ff. In lines 619-623 he says that among other things, Geometry deals with:

"How to bridge seas and rivers,
how to construct vessels and harbour-works,
how to dredge and close harbours -
of all these arts and the rest mother is Geometry."

(1) M. Psellus: Laudatory Speeches: "To the Emperor Monomachus", in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 132.

(2) M. Psellus: Apologetic Speeches: Speech 4, in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 186.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 260, vol. II, p. 435.

(4) Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis historiae sermo res suas continens", in Migne P.G. 142, 25.

book by G. Pachymeres. Both of these works written late in the Byzantine period show the great influence of Euclid's "Elements" upon their authors. Since Euclid's "Elements" are well known in England and Greece alike, we do not need to expose the material taught in the subject of geometry in Byzantine schools.

In regard to the method of teaching we have information showing that it was very close to the method still used in schools. Visual aids were regularly used in order to make the knowledge of geometry easy to acquire. Asterius, bishop of Amasea (4th century), for example, tells us that "the geometer having worked hard on his book and having had his ears filled by the teacher will not grasp the force of the various forms unless he learns the central points and lines and circles on the board." (1) And Anna Comnena (12th century) informs us that even blind men could learn geometrical theorems with the help of such aids. (2)

(c) ASTRONOMY

Astronomy was a very popular study in Byzantium, much more so than geometry. A large number of Byzantines dealt with the study of astronomy during the whole Byzantine period. They left us quite important works on the subject. The basic work, of course, which helped the study of astronomy was Ptolemy's "Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις". Throughout the Byzantine era we are met with a zeal for collection, systematisation and annotation of the works of ancient Greeks and of Alexandrians. The commentary by Theon the Alexandrian (4th century) on the "Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις

(1) Asterius, bishop of Amasea: Homilia IX "In S. Phocas", in Migne P.G. 40, 301.

(2) Referring to the blind learned Nicophorus, son of Diogenes Romanus, Anna says that "this man was so great in natural powers, that though he could not see he easily apprehended things hard for the seeing to interpret. He thereupon went through a complete education and even most wonderful of all, far-famed geometry, and meeting one of the learned men he ordered him to furnish the figures to him in solids. Then by touch of his hands he had apprehension of all the theorems and figures of geometry." "Alexiad", IX, 10, vol. I, p. 460 (Dann).

was highly valued and widely used by the Byzantines. Synesius (4th-5th centuries), pupil of Hypatia, dealt carefully with astronomy and invented a new astrolabe. Proclus also gave us many works on astronomical topics. In the 6th century we have John Philoponus, who stated some very original notions on astronomy, which are thought of by some scholars at least equally - if not more - important as those expressed centuries later by Copernicus and Galileo. (1)

It is interesting to note that among those who dealt with astronomy were emperors as well. Julian was supporter of the "heliocentric system", and Heraclius (r. 610-614) issued a commentary on Ptolemy. (2)

With the dawn of the 9th century we have a revival of astronomical studies. During this period also we have the publication of the astronomical work of Ptolemy.

A further advance in astronomical studies we have with Psellus during the 11th century. He did not add new knowledge to astronomy, but tried to give it its proper scientific character. By that time astrology was widely spread and studied at the expense of the true science of astronomy. He, then, undertook the hard task of clearing up the scope of astronomy and accused bitterly those who dealt with astrology - a vain study in his opinion.

During the 12th century Theodore Prodromus and John Tzetzes dealt with astronomy. Its study was encouraged by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1141-80) who nevertheless showed a special interest in astrology.

From the 13th century onwards we have the last flourishing in the science of astronomy. Many wise men of this period were experts on the subject and left works on astronomy deserving attention even today. Such men were Nicophorus Blennydos, George Pachymeron and Theodore Metochites, who took pains for the revival of astronomical studies in Constantinople. (3)

(1) See D. Cotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematics during the Byzantine period", pp. 7-8.

(2) See D. Cotsakis: Ibid.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.D.L., 226, vol. II, p. 291.

Nicophorus Gregoras also became another outstanding figure in the field of astronomy, first for the right corrections he suggested on the Calendar, which, though accepted by the Emperor, were not put into practice for the sake of peace in the society and the Church, (1) and second for foreseeing many eclipses of the sun and the moon. (2)

Another outstanding astronomer was Theodore Meliteniotes (14th century) whose work 'Αστρονομική Τρίβιβλος is considered as the most important book on Astronomy written in the Byzantine period. (3) His original contribution is seen in the third book of his work, where he takes advantage of the progress made in astronomy by Persians mainly. (4) Other famous teachers of astronomy were Gregory Chioniades, C. Loukites and C. Chrysococes, who all taught in Trebizond. (5) Nicolas Cabasilas must be mentioned here for his treatise on Ptolemy containing valuable comments and remarks on Ptolemy's works, and Plethon, who also dealt with astronomy. (6)

Astronomy attracted the attention of all Byzantines. However, no agreement was reached as to the scope of this study. By astronomy was meant, in the first place, the study of celestial bodies and of their movements as such, for the sake of knowledge; but some students of this subject tried to use this study to foretell the future of other men and even of whole nations. The first study was called astronomy and the second astrology. The study of the science of astronomy was approved by all learned Byzantines and recommended even by religious personalities, whereas the study of astrology was depreciated by the most eminent students of astronomy and other distinguished men of letters. From the time of St. Basil up to the end of the Byzantine period we find these two subjects differently

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- (1) Nicoph. Gregoras: ap. D. Kotsakis: "The sciences during the last three centuries in Byzantium", p. 12: "Ἰνα μὴ ἐκ τοῦτου σύγχυσις μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀμαθέσι φανῇ καὶ περισμὸν ἐκανάγη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ."
- (2) See D. Kotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematical sciences during the Byzantine period", p. 12; K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 181, vol. II, p.47.
- (3) Theodore Meliteniotes: "Ex libro de Astronomia, Prooemium in Astronomiam", in Higne P.C. 149, 988-1001; see also A.A.Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", p. 706 (in English).
- (4) Theodore Meliteniotes: Ibid, 6-8, cc. 993-96.
- (5) John B Papadopoulos: "Epistles of the Astronomer Gregory Chioniades", p. 22; see also K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. vol. II, p. 432.
- (6) See D. Kotsakis: Ibid., p. 13.

valued and pursued. It is interesting to see the views expressed by the supporters of astronomy and accusers of astrology in order to realise how right their views were. St. Basil, for instance, condemning devotion to astrology says: "Thus, if it is impossible to find exactly the hour of birth, and if the least change can upset all, then both those who give themselves up to this imaginary science, and those who listen to them open-mouthed, as if they could learn from them the future, are supremely ridiculous." (1)

Michael Psellus, to whom the real science of astronomy owes a lot, bitterly attacks astrology and its devotees: "We must say", he holds, "that those who try to say such things are clumsy and ignorant; making the study of portents a means of livelihood, they strive to seem prophets instead of astronomers;" and showing his own view, he writes elsewhere: "For the truth about the future, I do not hold with configurations or formations (: of stars), not to the cries or flight of birds ... or any of the devices with which the Greek tradition has gone astray." (2) On the contrary, he devoted much time to the study of astronomy and praises it: "If I give myself a great deal of trouble working out accurately the astronomy of the globe", he says, "this is a noble and philosophical task; and if I search for origins and sources, this too must attract soul which love contemplation." (3) Theodore Metochites agrees with Psellus as to the value of the study of astronomy, and bitterly attacks astrology and its devotees, for it "very manifestly and undeniably is damaging to faith and to our Christian piety ... I believe, therefore, that these men - who deal with astrology - are hurtful to the pious doctrines and are husbandmen and initiators of bad customs and seeds, and I turn my back on them passionately and take another direction and urge other to have like thoughts." (4) Such a passionate attack against astrology shows clearly that many persons dealt with

(1) St. Basil: On Hex. VI, 5, in Migne P.G. 29, 129.

(2) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Sathas: B.G.M., vol. V, p. 56.

(3) M. Psellus: Ibid., pp. 56-7.

(4) Theodore Metochites: "Praise, aim and object of the study of Astronomy" ap. K. Sathas, B.G.M., vol. I, pp. οδ'-οσ'

astrology or were eager to believe what astrologists would say; it also shows the healthy ideas of distinguished Byzantines about the real science of astronomy. (1)

Teaching of astronomy was given not only theoretically in words, but also practically by observation of heavenly bodies and the use of proper visual aids. Asterius of Amasea speaks about the right way in which the students of astronomy should study the subject. "Not in the case of him who is eager for Astronomy does oral instruction alone teach what is being studied unless the teacher turns the globe carefully and shows him visibly the movement of the pole." (2) Globes, diagrams, rulers, astrolabes and other visual aids were broadly used in the instruction of astronomy. One of Gregoras's opponents accuses him saying that "his house is full of globes and lines, and all his wisdom is packed in cupboards." (3) There were also observatories attached to the schools of Astronomical studies, housed in ^{the} buildings of the churches, used for both observation and teaching. (4)

In order to help the pupils to retain basic notions, terms, etc. of astronomical nature the teachers of grammar schools used to give them the material in verse. A common practice of learned Byzantines was to construct such poems, (5) which were sometimes addressed to the Emperors. John Kama-terus (12th century) addressed such a poem to the Emperor Manuel (1143-80), an adherent of astrology. The poet says that he wrote this poem in order to teach future generations that the Emperor loved wisdom more than gold or precious stones. He also wrote a second poem concerning astronomy, in the spoken idiom. (6)

(1) Theodore Meliteniotes: "Ex libro de Astronomia, Prooemium in Astronomiam", 7, in Wigne P.G. 149, 993; see also D. Cotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences during the Byzantine Period", p. 16.

(2) Asterius of Amasea: Speech 9: "Encomium to St. Phocas", in Wigne P.G. 40, 301.

(3) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 128, vol. I, p. 594.

(4) John B. Papadopoulos: "Epistles of the astronomer Gregory Chioniades", pp. 15-9.

(5) Arsenius, patriarch of Constantinople: "Versus in Dominum Resurrectionis", in Wigne P.G. 140, 937-38:

"Come, all my children	illuminates the night
come, dearest chorus,	with bright lamps.
come children bred by the nurses,	You can see the Bear on high,
.....	the greater and the lesser,
let us all offer a hymn	the Crown of Ariadne.
to the King and Creator of all	You can see the Zodiacal circle
..... things.	clearly with its signs.
Glorious circle of the moon
glittering chorus of stars,	

(6) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 314, vol. II, pp. 721-22, 723.

(d) MUSIC

In music, too, the Byzantines had showed special interest and affection. From the first centuries of the Byzantine era music was studied by all pupils, Christian or not. The biographer of St. Gregory of Nazianzus tells us of him and his friend Basil that while in Athens, "Again of music, as much as is traditional and harmonious, they learned, and so made gentle the passionate and unsubordinate part of the soul; but as much as brings pleasure only they dismissed from their tents." (1) From this quotation we see that Christian students discriminated among the various kinds of music and made a selective study of the subject with moral criteria, rejecting "as much as brings pleasure only." In Byzantium apart from the traditional we also have ecclesiastical music, which gradually came into being; among other things the latter also taught "how to compose songs and make choirs" in the church. (2)

The theory of traditional music was mainly taught in the schools of general education; no attempt for practical exercise in phonetic and instrumental music, however, was made in these schools. It was only for its theoretical character that music was highly respected by the educated Byzantines. (3)

As regards the teaching material in the theory of traditional music it seems that among the topics taught were the following: definitions of musical terms and the various metres, (4) what is musical sound, what are the names of the various sounds, scales, systems and harmonies, (5) what are symphonic and antiphonic sounds, (6) etc.

But apart from the old theory of music in Byzantium we also have the new branch of ecclesiastical music, the systematic study of which was carried out in monastic schools and the churches by expert "cantores" and

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- (1) Life of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, in Migne P.G. 35, 256.
 - (2) Theophylactus: Exegesis in Marcum in Migne P.G. 126, 496.
 - (3) M. Psellus: ap. K. Krumbacher G.E.L., vol. II, 579; Theodore Lascaris: "De naturali communione", Speech V, in Migne P.G. 140, 1347 ff.
 - (4) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Nathan B.G.M., vol. V, p. 55.
 - (5) M. Psellus: "In praise of Nicetas", in K. Nathan B.G.M., vol. V, p. 91.
 - (6) Synesius: "De insomniis", 2, in Migne P.G. 66, 1285 B.

priests. The monastery of Studium had become for a period famous for its school of ecclesiastical music, which was deeply studied both from the theoretical and the practical point of view. (1) Its study served special purposes, namely worship and composing of "hymns and spiritual odes" to be used outside the churches in everyday life of Christian people advancing to virtue. (2) In the State Orphanage also ecclesiastical music was extensively studied. Choirs were formed by the boys who sang in the services of the Great Church of St. Sophia. Anna Comnena gives us the information that her father, the Emperor Alexius I, composed hymns, which the pupils in the Orphanage - of primary and secondary school age - had to learn. Naturally, we must not expect all these pupils and all "cantores" to have known the theory of ecclesiastical music in detail.

Instruction in ecclesiastical music was given by demonstration. The teacher sang the various tunes and exercised his pupils in their discrimination. Then the pupils learned to sing hymns on the tunes which fitted the tunes they were being exercised in. Instruction could also proceed to the acquaintance of the pupils with the signs of sounds and tunes. This latter knowledge, however, was not necessary since the tunes in which the various hymns, psalms, etc. were chanted were fixed to a certain number - eight in all - which made them easy to learn mechanically. In fact, it was St. John of Damascus who first simplified the existing system. Thus, once the pupils had had the proper exercise in these eight tunes, they could chant all hymns, psalms, etc, provided that they had the proper indications at the beginning. Those pupils, however, who wished to master ecclesiastical music, which we call "Byzantine music", had to receive additional lessons. We know that for this purpose there were specialists, teaching on pay. We have such an evidence from the marginal notes on a manuscript of the 15th century (3) found in one of the libraries of Florence in Italy.

(1) Life of Theodore of Studium II in Migne P.G. 99, 273, 276.

(2) Eusebius of Caesarea: *Preparatio Evangelica*, XII, 8, in Migne P.G. 21, 985-88; Eust. Thess.: "On the duty etc." in Migne P.G. 136, 300-301.

(3) S. Lambros: "Neos Hellenomnemon", vol. 9, pp. 196-7 (Athens, 1912).

The popular songs, the so called *ἀσμάτια* or "*καρφώδια*", were composed on special occasions and sung by the public. (1)

As for instrumental music, it seems that it was not taught in schools, (2) though the pupils were theoretically taught some things about the strings of stringed musical instruments, such as the lyre or the cithara. (3)

(c) OTHER SUBJECTS INCLUDED IN QUADRIVIUM: PHYSICS, NATURAL HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Physics was a subject whose study was done in schools on the basis of the works of Archimedes, Apollonius and Heron (of the Hellenistic era). These works attracted the attention of the Byzantine scientists and teachers of Quadrivium, who made collections, and publications of them from time to time. (4) The scientists concentrated their efforts not to producing original works but to assimilating the vast amount of knowledge which came up to their times and at the same time to popularise it — both in the field of everyday life and in that of military usage and of architecture — so as to make its practical application easy.

From the works on Quadrivium by Psellus, G. Pachymeres, Nicophorus Blennydes (5) and other Byzantine teachers, written for school use, we gather that mechanics, optics, and dynamics were the subjects that were given great attention in schools. But as one reads the existing works one finds many other matters occasionally discussed. In the higher institutions these topics were taught or discussed in the course of study.

No doubt the knowledge of the Byzantines on many phenomena of nature was either wrong or defective, superstition being partly responsible for this. The illiterate would disapprove those who tried to give some scientific explanation on various topics. When Photius, for instance, explained

(1) See G. Buckler: "Anna Comnena", p. 214.

(2) Eust. Thess.: "On the duty etc.", 15, in Migne P.G. 136, 300-301.

(3) Synesius: "De incommis", 2, in Migne P.G. 66, 1285 B; H. Psellus: Letter 187 (untitled) in K. Sathas B.G.H., vol. V, p. 473.

(4) See D. Cotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences during the Byzantine Period", pp. 7 ff.

(5) H. Psellus: "Short Solutions on Topics of Physics", in Migne P.G. 122, 784-844; Nicoph. Blennydes: "Epitome of Physics", in Migne P.G. 42, 1005-1320.

the natural causes of earthquakes, he was accused as a magician. However, we find from time to time other scientists also supporting openly their views on the justification that God created nature but left men to discover the truth about it. (1)

Natural History was another subject which attracted the interest not only of pupils and students but of all Byzantines as well. Here again the works of the ancients, such as Aristotle's "History of Animals" and Aelian's work "On the Nature of Animals" etc., were the sources from which quite a number of Byzantine teachers and other learned men drew the material for their works. Timothy of Gaza was the first to write "On Zoology". Another similar work is "Questiones Physicae" written by Theophylactus Simocates.(2) From the educational point of view this is an interesting work because it is written in dialogical form with Polycrates listening to Antisthenes's teaching and asking questions. Strange stories concerning animals and plants were extremely loved by the Byzantines; the "Physiologos" (3) and "Poulologos" were their most beloved readers. Both of these poems were designed to give the pupils and the less educated Byzantines general information concerning various animals; they also aimed at moral instruction because of the allegories and deductions they contained. (4) Manuel Philes in later times wrote also in verse a similar work on animals and plants.(5) In general we find a great deal and correct information on Natural History in many works by lay and religious personalities, a fact that proves by itself that the study of the subject was very popular and seriously pursued in the schools of general education. From a scientific point of view the learned Byzantines who dealt with this subject in their writings show themselves aware of the progress made by the preceding generations, remote or near to them. Aristotle's classifications were kept on the whole, and only very few additions were occasionally made. For details we may always refer to St. Basil's famous "Homilies on Hexaemeron." (6)

(1) St. Basil: On Isaiah, 6, 94, in Migne P.G. 30, 128, 273; H. Psellus: "Short solutions on topics of Physica", in Migne P.G. 122, 784.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 105, vol. I, p. 501.

(3) K. Krumbacher Ibid., 385, vol. III, pp. 175 ff.

(4) G. Zorab: "Byzantine Poetry" ("Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις"), pp. 31 ff.

(5) K. Krumbacher Ibid., vol. II, pp. 750-51.

(6) St. Basil: On Hex., I-IX, in Migne P.G. 29, 4-208. (English translation in the "Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" vol. VIII, pp. 52-107).

Geography, political and natural mainly, was also taught, the latter usually in relation to Astronomy. In regard to the study of Geography as a science the Byzantines presented no original work. We only see, as in other fields of study, some commentaries, revisions and epitomes of geographical works by writers of preceding centuries. It was only Stephanus Byzantius's significant geographical dictionary (6th century) that had some permanent influence upon later Byzantines who dealt with geography, (1) such as the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus, Genesius, etc. Cosmas Indicopleustes also, a merchant who later became a monk, wrote in the 6th century his "Christian Topography", a book full of geographical information (natural geography chiefly) and a theory about the Earth, which presents it as flat, thus being a revolt against the ptolemaic theory. (2) Nicophorus Blennyes wrote two small works in the form of text-books for school use, which are worth mentioning, "A History of the Earth" and "A General Geography". (3) During the last centuries, however, we find the science of Geography well studied in the Academy of Trebizond. (4) The graduates of this school, like Bessarion, who migrated in the West, had a sound geographical knowledge which they implanted in their western pupils. (5) In fact, Bessarion was the first to make known in the West the works of Strabo. (6)

P. Koukoules considers the geographical knowledge of the Byzantines as imperfect. (7) Krumbacher also is surprised at the neglect of the theory of Geography. (8) The reasons for this he attributes first to the general decline of original scientific research, the conditions under which the Byzantines lived - which could not encourage travels and geographical research -, and finally to the neglect of navigation. (9) However, on the

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 170, vol. II, p. 6.

(2) See E. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. IX, p. 236.

(3) A.A. Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", p. 552 (in English).

(4) John B. Papadopoulos: "Epistles of the astronomer Gregory Chionides", p. 14.

(5) John B. Papadopoulos: Ibid.

(6) D. Cotsakis: "Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences during the Byzantine Period", p. 13.

(7) See P. Koukoules: "Life and Civilisation of Byzantines", vol. A, I, p. 134.

(8) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 170, vol. II, p. 5.

(9) K. Krumbacher: Ibid.

practical side of Geography the Byzantines were much better. Many small guide-books had been published at various times to serve the needs of the administrative services of the State and the Church. Some of them are of great value for their accurate information. Such books, for instance, were the religious guide-book - "synecdemus" - by the grammarian Ierocles (6th century), and several navy guide-books. (1)

Considering all these works from a scientific and practical aspect and the conditions of life in Byzantium we may conclude that the geographical knowledge of the Byzantines, far from being perfect, was good. (2) Psellus says that he taught geography to his pupils diligently, supplementing what was missing and correcting the rest according to Bion's and Eratosthenes's views, (3) the great Alexandrian geographers of the Hellenistic era.

From what has been said above and from the fact that the Academy of Trebizond produced many well known experts in geography (4) we may safely conclude that geography as a subject was continually taught in higher private and public schools with very good results - regardless of the scientifically partial inaccuracy of the material given, a fact which is not for us to judge.

(7) MEDICINE

Medicine, "the wonderful" (5) and "the best and most philanthropic" (6) of all sciences was highly valued and broadly studied in Byzantium. S. Runciman's statement that "a medical education was by no means restricted to

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 176, vol. II, pp. 25 ff.

(2) S. Runciman in his work "Byzantine Civilization" provides evidence to show that "the geographical knowledge was good.", ch. IX, p. 236; G. Tuckler also in her work on "Anna Comnena" observes that "as a rule Anna's geographical knowledge is accurate, though a few errors may be pointed out.", p. 213.

(3) H. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 60.

(4) John B. Papadopoulos: "Epistles of the astronomer Gregory Chionides" p. 14

(5) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech VII "In praise of his brother Caesarius", 7, in Migne P.G. 35, 761; H. Psellus: "Encomium to Aetarius's brother", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 98.

(6) Symeon Metaphrastes: Life of St. Luke in Migne P.G. 115, 1129; H. Choniates: Letter 107 (1) (to Georgius Callistus, the chief doctor), in S. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. II, p. 201.

future doctors" is wholly true, (1) since all Byzantines who went through a complete course of studies in the schools of liberal education received sufficient medical knowledge. St. Basil (2) while studying in Athens was taught the theory and principles of medicine up to the point of professional perfection. Michael Psellus was able even to apply the theory of medicine in practice, though he preferred to deal with it from a theoretical point of view. (3) Anna Comnena was another amateur but very expert physician. Michael Choniates at a very late age engaged himself in the study of anatomy, (4) and the learned Emperor Theodore Lascaris thought that an Emperor should know medicine next to strategy, because "he is the saviour and caretaker both of the souls and the bodies of his subjects." (5) Nothing more natural than for the State than to support the study of medicine and pay specialists for its instruction. (6)

As in other fields so in medicine the works of the Ancients were the chief guides of the Byzantines. A great number of medical hand-books were published throughout the Byzantine era, and every library had to be equipped with up-to-date books, including the works of the fathers of medicine Hippocrates and Galen. (7) The science of medicine, though pursued with great zeal, did not advance much in Byzantium. Nevertheless, we find from time to time some more or less original works, such as the works of Oribasius and Nemesius of Emessa in the 4th century, of Aetius in the 6th century of Paulus of Aegina in the 7th century, of Demetrius Pepagomonus and the Actuarius Nicolas Myrepsus in the 13th century, (8) etc. The latter's

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- (1) E. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", ch. IX, p. 237.
 - (2) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 43 "In praise of Basil", 23, in Migne P.G. 36, 528.
 - (3) M. Psellus: "Encomium to his mother", in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 60.
 - (4) M. Choniates: Letter 102 (12-13) (to Euthemius) in M. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. II, p. 190.
 - (5) Theodore Lascaris: "De naturali communione", Speech V, in Migne P.G. 140, 1361-62 A.
 - (6) Zonaras J.: XIV, 6, vol. III, pp. 273-74; ^(Bonn) see also Alexander M. Lettman: "History of Thessalonica", ch. 14, p. 221.
 - (7) See J. L. Heiberg: "Ancient Science", pp. 102-3 (translation in English by D. G. Macgregor, London 1922); M. Choniates: Letter 102 (12) (to Euthemius), in M. Lambros: "Mich. Acom. etc.", vol. II, p. 190.
 - (8) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L. 23, II pp. 414 ff; also Encyclopaedicon Lexicon "HELIOS", vol. 8, pp. 833-34.

significant "syntagology" -prescriptions of medicines in 48 chapters - influenced medicine in the West and was the official book of "syntagology" in the Medical School of Paris University up to the 17th century. (1) In fact, the Byzantines made considerable progress on the practical side of medicine study. In diagnosing various illnesses, in surgery, and in the use of herbal drugs they had their great success. But still more admirable they were in the organisation of their medical services. Their hospitals were under the State's and the Church's protection and it is in this field that Christian philanthropic feelings are magnificently expressed, in relieving the suffering and the poor. The hospitals were housed in very good buildings attached to the monasteries, and had the best possible equipment and very efficient medical personnel of various specialties. The hospital of the Pantocrator monastery in Constantinople is referred to as an example. (2)

Medicine as a subject had an outstanding place in the curriculum of higher secular education. Oribasius points out that "it is useful or rather necessary for every man from an early age to include medicine in the course of his study and listen to its words in order to become^a useful advisor of himself as well"; (3) in the patristic works, on the other hand, we see that medicine was among the lessons taught in the schools of liberal education. (4) Naturally in the schools of grammar and rhetoric only elements of medicine were probably given, the systematic study of the theory and the principles of the subject being left to students of university level. (5) However, the final and most important stage of medical studies for the student was to pass through hospitals where teaching was done chiefly through demonstration and where the student had ample opportunities for practice. (6)

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.D.L.259,II, p. 416.

(2) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilization", ch. IX, p. 238.

(3) Oribasius: Medical Miscellany, ch. 21, ap. P.Koukoules: "Life and Civilization of Byzantines" vol. A, I, p. 135.

(4) For details see P. Koukoules: Ibid.

(5) St. Greg. Naz.: Speech 43 "In praise of Basil", 2, 3, in Migne P.G. 35, 528.

(6) Asterius, bishop of Amasea: Speech 9 "Encomium to St. Luke", in Migne P.G. 40, 301.

(8) RHETORIC

Instruction in rhetoric followed strictly the methods and program of pre-Byzantine schools of rhetoric. (1) Every student had to be instructed through a definite, very detailed and carefully arranged course of theoretical and practical study. The student started by learning the specific technical vocabulary, definitions and classifications coming down to many subdivisions and details hard to acquire. There were standard books, the so called "progymnasmata" - that is graded "preparatory exercises" - written by Hermogenes (2nd century) and Aphthonius of Antioch (4th century) containing the material of the subject and the order of instruction. These works had been the guides for all teachers of rhetoric for successive generations in Byzantium. (2) Many teachers and other learned Byzantines wrote numerous text-books, "progymnasmata", based on the above mentioned works and made their comments upon them.

According to the "progymnasmata" the student proceeded to exercises of various kinds, from fable to narrative, "chria", aphorism, confirmation (or refutation), commonplaces, eulogy (or censure), comparison, ethopeia (or prosopopeia), the "thesis" and finally the discussion of law. (3) The student was also taught the "five parts", that is invention, arrangement, elocution, memorising and action, helping him to the analytical approach of the subject given as an exercise; he learned thoroughly how to make a good plan of the speech, which was divided into four to six parts usually: the exordium, the narrative, the division, the argument, the digression and the peroration. Matthew Camariotes, professor of philosophy in Constantinople puts division, argument and digression under one heading, which he titles "agones" - ἀγῶνες -. (4) To become expert in all these things

(1) H.I. Marrou had so thoroughly analysed all the problems of the study of Rhetoric in antiquity in his brilliant book, that my dealing with them in this work would not add anything new. For details see H.I. Marrou: "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part I, ch. V, pp. 52-4, ch. VII, pp. 84 ff, Part II, ch. X, pp. 194-205, Part III, ch. VI, p. 286, ch. VII, p. 303.

(2) M. Psellus: Apologetic Speeches IV, in K. Sathas B.G.M., vol. V, p. 190; John Tzetzes: "Chiliades", Chil. XI, ch. 269, lines 119-120; see also K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 187, vol. II, p. 87.

(3) The English terminology is borrowed from H.I. Marrou's book "A History of Education in Antiquity", Part II, ch. VII, X, pp. 173, 197 ff.

(4) Matthew Camariotes: "Synopsis rhetoricae", in Wigne P.G. 160, 1025.

the student had to undergo through a long and painstaking practice, by doing the necessary exercises, no matter how dull and mechanical they could be. He was urged to do so and the teacher ought to proceed slowly step by step.

At a more advanced stage appropriate texts were given to the student to help him to imitate their style and form and gradually to acquire the proper - that is the Attic⁽¹⁾ style in writing and speaking. These model passages were taken from fine speeches of the recognised orators of ancient Greece - in fact there was a list of the ten Attic orators recommended -(2), of some historians and, of course, from the speeches of the Great Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries, and other lay and religious writers (3) who wrote after the 5th century. But in many cases the model passages were composed by the sophists themselves, a very common practice since Isocrates's time.

The topics chosen were either from mythology and history or from the Bible and the animal and vegetable kingdom or sometimes from events of everyday life - individual and social. We have many such exercises from fables and "chriae" (4) to eulogies and "theses" etc. composed for school use or for advanced rhetoric study not only by professional teachers like Agapetus, deacon of St. Sophia, (5) Photius, Psellus, John Doxapatres and others, but also by other learned Byzantines including Emperors also, like Manuel Palaeologos (1350-1425). (6)

(1) Gregory of Cyprus: "Particularis historiae sermo res suas continens", in Migne P.G. 142, 28.

(2) Photius: Myriobiblon, titles 259-268, in Migne P.G. 104, 157-196.

(3) Photius: Letters, II, 44 (to Amphilochius), in Migne P.G. 102, 861.

(4) Gregory of Cyprus: "Chria", in Migne P.G. 142, 417-22; see also K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 202, vol. II, pp. 139-40.

(5) He was teacher of the Emperor Justinian, and addressed an "Admonitory Speech" to Justinian on his enthronement, which being an excellent sample of rhetoric was used in schools in Byzantium and afterwards during the Renaissance in the West, where it was published about 20 times in the 16th century. See K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 190, vol. II, pp. 99-104.

(6) K. Krumbacher: G.B.L., 210, vol. II, pp. 165-67.

Looking at these works carefully we see how many difficulties the student - and the teacher - of rhetoric had to face in the school of rhetoric. We realise then why the study of this subject lasted for so long, three to four years and even more sometimes. St. Basil spent four years in Athens and had to go on studying when he left Athens to perfect himself. In fact, those who passed through a school training in rhetoric had to go on studying to keep their knowledge up to a satisfactory level. (1) These same works on rhetorical topics show us further that once the students had become masters of rhetoric they could develop initiative and express within the patterns learned their ideas and feelings freely and imaginatively. The tyranny they passed through gave them the instrument for creative work. In fact, in many speeches of religious or lay personalities throughout the Byzantine period we find fine specimens which stand as high as those written by the best orators of antiquity. In many of these specimens we recognise the influence of the great master of rhetoric, Isocrates, as, for instance, in the admonitory speeches - Παράκλητα Λόγοι - of the Emperor Basil I to his son Leo (2), or in Photius's letter to Michael, prince of Bulgaria, (3) or again in Philotheus's, patriarch of Constantinople, Lives of Saints, whom he saw just as a pupil of Plutarch's would do (4) by imitating his patterns, and in Nicolas Cabasilas's "Encomium to St. Demetrius" where he imitates the style of Isocrates's epideictic speeches. (5) Lastly, from the study of the speeches written by the Byzantines we see not only the influence of the traditional method of rhetoric instruction, but also how seriously the Byzantines took the matter of rhetoric study - an indication of the love they had for it.

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- (1) Is. Pelus.: Letters, III, 96 (to Paul), V, 334 (to Agathodaemon, the grammarian), in Migne P.G. 78, 805, 1529.
 - (2) Basil I: "Paraenesis ad Leonem Filium", in Migne P.G. 107, XXI ff.
 - (3) Photius: Letters, I, 8, (to Michael, prince of Bulgaria), in Migne P.G. 102, 628 ff.
 - (4) See Basil Laourdas: "The Classical Philosophy in Thessalonica during the 14th century", pp. 13-4.
 - (5) Basil Laourdas: Ibid. pp. 14-5.

EPILOGUE

BYZANTINE EDUCATION AND THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

Byzantium was always in contact with the nations around it; the Arabs, the Persians, the Slavs, and the Western people. Owing to its high civilisation Byzantium managed to influence that of all these nations in one way or another. The Orthodox Byzantine Church, supported by the State, civilised the Slavs, while the Arabs became the offspring of the Byzantine civilisation; Western Europe also profited no less from its contact with Byzantium. In fact, its intellectual development was influenced by Byzantine culture in many ways. It is always said that Arabs made the works of Aristotle known to the West. This is true, of course. One need only go back into the past and raise the question how the Arabs came to know Aristotle. And enquiring on this matter one will see that the Arabs themselves had profited from their contact with Byzantium. Bagdad, the capital of the Caliphate, was always an important intellectual centre. Greek scholarship was studied there for a long time, and many educated Arabs pursued their higher studies in Constantinople. Caliphs, on the other hand, invited Byzantine scholars to Bagdad to teach there. These facts show that the Arabs were to a great extent pupils of the Byzantines. Thus, the influence of the Arabs in the West could be considered, I think, as an indirect influence of the Byzantines. The Arabs, however, did not succeed in giving to the West more than Aristotle. For their contact with Byzantium stopped almost at the time when the study of Plato came to the forefront in Constantinople. So we find the West going on with the study of the works of Aristotle till very late in the 15th century, namely when the Italian Renaissance was at its peak. It was left to the Byzantines and not to the Arabs to introduce the study of Plato in the West and so to broaden the intellectual horizon of the Western peoples. It is true that Psellus had some Arabs as his students (1) and that he instructed them to Plato's ideas as well. But that was a temporary limited period. Furthermore, it needed a great power from their part to break through the existing atmosphere favouring Aristotle. In fact, we have many Platonists but none could undertake with success such a task.

(1) M. Psellus: Letter 207 (to the patriarch Gerularius), in K. Sathas B.C.H., vol. V, p. 508.

— It is of some interest, therefore, to trace the history of Platonism in the centuries that followed Proclus in Byzantium. The first serious attempt to turn back to antiquity after the golden age of the Great Church Fathers and the closing of the University of Athens took place during and after the struggle between Iconoclasts and Iconodules. (1) The hostile attitude of Iconoclasts towards Orthodoxy and Hellenism had as one of its consequences the return of some Byzantines to Athens. Greek philosophy had supported the struggle of Iconodules to re-establish the worship of the icons. So when they won the day they did not forget their spiritual ally, namely the Greek philosophy. They turned their efforts to the study of the Classics and the first fruitful results of this enquiry did not take much time to manifest themselves in the Capital. (2) During the 9th century we find a revival of learning, its great representatives being lovers of Aristotle and other philosophers. The name of the learned Photius, once private teacher then State teacher and Patriarch, is closely associated with the revival of classical studies. (3) Nevertheless, the increasing interest in the masterpieces of antiquity brought the scholars of the 11th century in contact with Plato as well. We are now on the threshold of the Humanistic age. (4) The names of John Mauroπους, Psellus, Xiphili-nus and John Italus shine in the Byzantine world of letters. Plato was now at his zenith. John Mauroπους held that Plato was in essence a Christian "because he was so fine a philosopher", and Psellus openly showed his preference for Plato rather than for Aristotle. Owing to their efforts which were backed by the Palace — for both Psellus and Mauroπους, the former as Prime Minister, the latter as adviser of the Emperor, were obedient servants of the State — Platonism knew a glorious revival, and the return to Athens became almost a reality. With reference to this R.R. Bolgar says: "Psellus's school made the admiration of antiquity a living force and re-introduced the practice of imitating the ancient writers. These were important changes: for they opened men's eyes to the ideals and the behaviour

(1) K. Krumbacher: G.E.L., I, vol. I, pp. 20-1.

(2) Ibid., p. 19.

(3) S. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. IX, p. 226; K. Krumbacher: Ibid. p. 26.

(4) R.R. Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 74.

patterns that had formed the Athenian way of life. Like Petrarch, two centuries later, Psellus was a clumsy exponent of the craft of literary imitation ... He wanted to turn Byzantium into the spiritual heir of Athens; and he nearly succeeded." (1)

Unfortunately, this promising movement met with strong opposition from the Church, and primarily that of Psellus's intimate friend and fellow-student from childhood, Xiphilinus, whose interest in the classics was limited to the study of Aristotle. John Italus, the immediate successor of Psellus in the professorship of philosophy, paid with his own his faith in Platonism. And after his successor Theodore of Smyrna the school of philosophy along with Platonism disappeared. With the Latin conquest of Constantinople the conditions became still worse for Platonists. The Church was on the side of Aristotle. But in the remote provinces of the Empire things were different. With the split of the Empire Thessalonica, Athens, Nysiras and Nicaea - the temporary capital of the Empire - became autonomous intellectual centres. With the re-establishment of the capital of the Empire in Constantinople (1261) under the last dynasty of Palaeologi the effort for the study of the Classics was supported officially by the Palace and even the Church took some active interest in the revival. (2) Such circumstances helped once more a deep study of Plato, and we find quite a number of distinguished scholars like Gemistus Plethon or Nicophorus Gregoras (3) or Bessarion, who were well acquainted with Plato and ready to advocate a complete return to Athens in every sphere of life including religious life as well. So great was their admiration for Platonism that they envisaged a Christian Platonism as the ideal to be pursued. Naturally this aroused the bitter opposition of the Church, (4) and the scholars who thought thus had either to reject their belief or to escape elsewhere. It was Aristotle alone who could find official support in Constantinople. But Aristotelian Philosophy, flourishing now in the West, had always been considered inferior to that of Plato by many Byzantine scholars. These scholars, despite the enmity of the Church at that period towards Platonism,

(1) E.R. Dolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 77; also C. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. IX, p. 234.

(2) K. Krumbacher: G.D.L., I, vol. I, p. 30.

(3) Ibid., 128, vol. I, p. 603.

(4) See Panayiotis Christou: "Gregory Palamas and Theology in Thessalonica during the 14th century.", pp. 5 ff; also Basil Leoufidas: "The Classical Philosophy in Thessalonica during the 14th century", pp. 11 ff.

went on studying their Plato. A complaint by Gennadius, a great adherent of Aristotle, gives an idea of the conditions in the study of philosophy at that period. Gennadius, who was "an enthusiastic specialist, judged the world in terms of his speciality, and because Byzantium was inferior to the West in Aristotelian philosophy, concluded it must be inferior in everything." (1) Platonists were thought of as a "negligible quantity" by their opponents; and as the Church exercised great control over education during this period the followers of Plato preferred to seek asylum in the West. In fact, provinces like Mystras and Thessalonica provided enough freedom to them, but complete security was only to be found abroad. So, many of them encouraged by their students from Italy, (2) travelled there where they could preach their Plato without the fear of condemnation, for the Italian Humanists were thirsting for ancient wisdom. (3)

This movement, which started in the 14th century and culminated during the following century, deprived Byzantium of many of its best scholars and teachers. It was the West that profited from this deprivation. For such scholars influenced the Italian humanists in two ways: scholars like Chrysoloras, for instance, succeeded in turning their pupils' interest towards a systematic study of language according to his new method of teaching, and so he was able to equip them with the invaluable instrument through which a vivid and profitable approach to Classics became possible. Scholars like Plethon Gemistus, (4) on the other hand, deeply influenced by Plato's mind, managed to transmit their enthusiasm for Plato to their audience and finally to turn the whole thought of the Renaissance scholars to more idealistic lines. Chrysoloras' chief importance, as A.A.Vasiliev deserves, "was apparently due to his teaching and his ability to transmit to his auditors his vast knowledge of Greek literature ... Guanno compared him with the sun illuminating Italy, which had been sunk in deep darkness, and expressed a wish that thankful Italy should erect in his honour triumphal arches along his way." (5)

(1) R.R.Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 85.

(2) J. Lindsay: "Byzantium into Europe", p. 449, (London 1952).

(3) E. Runciman: "Byzantine Civilisation", ch. XII, p. 298.

(4) E. Runciman: Ibid., p. 294.

(5) A.A.Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", p. 719; see also R.R.Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", pp. 66-8, 269-72.

But while "paedagogically, the Renaissance began with Chrysoloras"(1) it advanced from a philosophical point of view thanks to Plethon Gemistus. His stay in Florence, A.A.Vasiliev says, "is one of the most important episodes in the history of the transplantation of Greek classical learning to Italy, and especially of the revival of Platonic philosophy in the West." (2) Plethon, therefore, it can be said, belongs more to the West than to Byzantium, for his teaching activity is so closely connected with Italy and especially with Florence where he attempted to establish a kind of New Platonic Academy in 1439. His purpose was to account for the importance and superiority of Platonic over Aristotelian philosophy, quite a risk for him to take at a period when Aristotelianism was at its highest in Italy. For scholasticism as a system of thought was based on Aristotle's method, a method that had come to obstruct the adventures of thought which it initiated, (3) however. Plethon had realised this and his Academy exposed his own views - which had been summarised in a treatise he wrote under the title "A treatise on the Laws" - on the merits of Aristotle and Plato, praising Plato, of course. This movement created great disturbance in the learned circles of Italy and Plethon found himself in a very difficult position because the opposition was very strong. Fortunately, at that great moment in the history of Humanism, another great scholar, Bessarion - a pupil of Plethon at Nystiras and now Cardinal in Italy - stepped into the discussion and with his authority he succeeded in calming the storm raised, and what was more important, in justifying Plethon and so give the victory to Plato.

Perhaps, the achievements of Byzantine scholars as a whole are not so great in the history of thought. But if one remembers the conditions under which they had to work, and "considers them in detail, one is no longer surprised that they did not achieve more", as R.R.Bolgar remarks. On the contrary, "it is surprising that they achieved so much." (4) But scholars

(1) R.R.Bolgar: "The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries", p. 268.

(2) A.A.Vasiliev: "History of the Byzantine Empire", p.700 (in English).

(3) J. Lindsay: "Byzantium into Europe", p. 450.

(4) R.R.Bolgar: Ibid, p. 90..

of the later period like Plotin, Chrysoloras and so on were children of Byzantium. And what they did in Italy reflects the influence of their country upon it. It is with this thought in mind that J. Lindsay ends his chapter on "The Italian Renaissance": "Thus, in its very death-panic, Byzantium had yielded up a secret necessary to the new forces, necessary for the overthrow of medieval scholasticism and the building of the new science." (1) The secret which he is referring to is just this "anti-scholastic thought", the platonic thought which led the later Humanists beyond the boundaries of scholasticism to the creation of freedom in thought and helped men like Galileo to found modern science.

(1) J. Lindsay: "Byzantium into Europe", p. 452.

APPENDIX I
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APPENDIX II

THE MOST IMPORTANT GREEK QUOTATIONS INCLUDED IN THIS THESIS

P.11(1) Ίσιδ.Πηλουσιώτης: "Ο Κύριος"...ἀκεγράφῃ τῇ μητρὶ φερόμε-
νος καὶ κῆνσον ἐτέλεσε Καίσαρι, τῷ Κράτει νομοθετεῖν ὁκοτάσ-
σεσθαι, ὅταν μηδὲν παραβλάκῃ κρὸς εὐσέβειαν."

P.12 (1) Λγ.Ίωάν.ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "... νοῦ β δέ, ὅπως μὲν τέχνας καὶ
γράμματα καὶ λόγους τοῦς αὐτῶν καὶδας καὶ δεύσειαν ἄκασαν ἔ-
καστος κοιεῖται σκουδῆν, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκηθεῖν, τοῦτου
οὐκέτι οὐδεὶς λόγον ἔχει τινά."

P.13 (1) Μέγας Βασίλειος: " Οὐδέν γὰρ οὕτως ἴδιον τῆς φύ-
σεως ἡμῶν, ὥς τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ χρῆζειν ἀλλήλων καὶ
ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὁμόφυλον."

P.14 (2) Μέγας Βασίλειος: " Ἡμεῖς (οἱ Χριστιανοί), ὦ καῖδες ,
οὐδέν εἶναι χρῆμα παντάπασι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τοῦτον ὁκο-
λαμβάνομεν, οὐτ' ἀγαθόν τι νομίζομεν ὅλως, οὐτ' ὀνομάζομεν, ὃ τὴν
συντέλειαν ἡμῶν ἄχρι τοῦτου καρέχεται... ἀλλ' ἐκὶ μακρότερον
κρόῃμεν ταῖς ἐλάσι καὶ κρὸς ἑτέρου βίου καρασκευὴν ἄκαντα
κράττομεν."

P.14 (4) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: " Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐτ' ἐκίστήμην, οὐτ' εὐδαι-
μονίαν ἀριστοκέλειον, οὐθ' ἡδονὴν ἐκικούρειον τέλος ἀνθρώπου τι-
θέμεθα, τὸ κρὸς Θεοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἐσόμενον καινὸν αἰῶνα ἀεὶ
βασιλεύεσθαι, εἰς ὃ φέρει μόνη τῶν θείων δεσμῶν ἡ κλήρωσις."

P.15 (1) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "... τὸ ἐκμεληθῆναι ἡθῶν οὐκ ἀδάρκες ἐ-
στὶν ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὁδὸς εἰς τέλος."

P.15 (2) Ίσιδ.Πηλουσιώτης: " Θεῖον μὲν οὖν τι χρῆμα ὁ λόγος,
θειότερον δὲ ἡ ἀρετὴ, θειότατον δὲ ἡ κίστις· καὶ τὸν μὲν
ὀρίζομαι εἶναι ὥς κόσμον, τὴν δὲ ὥς σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ὥς ψυ-
χὴν. Ὡ, μὲν οὖν τὰ τρία κρὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος ἀνυκέρβλητός ἐστι
καὶ τέλειος."

P.15 (3) Λγ.Ίωάν.ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "... ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν, οὐχ ὅστις
ἀπλῶς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἔχει ἀνθρώπου, οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστὶ λογι-
κὸς μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅστις εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν μετὰ καρρησίας ἀ-
σκεῖ."

P.18 (3) Μέγας Βασίλειος : "... Α μὲν οὖν ἂν συντελῇ κρὸς τοῦτον ἡμῖν, ἀγακᾶν τε καὶ διώκειν παντὶ σθένει χρῆναί φαμεν, τὰ ... Εἰς δὲ τοῦτον ἄγουσι μὲν ἱεροὶ λόγοι, δι' ἀκορρήτων ἡμᾶς ἐκκαιδεύοντες. Ἔως γε μὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐκ ακούειν τοῦ βάθους τῆς διανοίας αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶδν τε ἐν ἑτέροις ᾗ πάντῃ δι-εστηκόσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν σκηναῖς τισι καὶ κατόπτροις, τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμματι τέως προγυμναζόμεθα, ... Καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ οὖν ἀγῶνα προκεῖσθαι πάντων ἀγῶνων μέγιστον νομίζειν χρεόν, ὅκῃρ οὐδὲ πάντα κοιητέον ἡμῖν καὶ κονητέον εἰς δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦτου παρασκευήν, καὶ κοιηταῖς καὶ λογοκοίσις καὶ ῥήτορι καὶ κᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλητέον, ὅθεν ἂν μέλλῃ κρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκίμειαν ὠφέλειά τις ἔσεσθαι... εἰ μέλλει ἀνέκκλυτος ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ καλοῦ παραμένειν δόξα, τοῖς ἔξω δὲ τοῦτους προτετελεσθέντες, τῇ νικαῦτα τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀκορρήτων ἐκ ακουσόμεθα καιδευμάτων."

P.19 (2) "Αγ.Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός:" Οἶμαι δὲ κᾶσιν ἂν ἀμολογῆσθαι τὸν νοῦν ἐχόντων, καίδευσιν τῶν καρ' ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον· οὐ ταύτην μόνον τὴν εὐγενεστέραν καὶ ἡμετέραν, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγοις κομψὸν καὶ φιλότιμον ἀτιμάουσα, μόνης ἔχεται τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν νοουμένων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν διακτύουσιν, ὡς ἐκίβουλον καὶ σφαλεράν, καὶ Θεοῦ κόρρῳ βάλλουσαν, κακῶς εἰδότες... " ... ὡς δὲ καὶ κυρὸς καὶ τροφῆς, (καὶ σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων) οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ χρησιμώτατον ἴσμεν, ἢ βλαβερώτατον, ἀλλ' ὅκως ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς χρωμένοις, ... ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐρπυστικῶν θηρίων ἔστιν, ἃ τοῖς κρὸς σωτηρίαν φαρμάκοις συνεκεράσαμεν· οὕτω (δὲ) καὶ τούτων, τὸ μὲν ἑξεταστικὸν τε καὶ θεωρητικόν, ἐδεξάμεθα· ὅσον δὲ εἰς δαίμονας φέρει, καὶ κλάνην, καὶ ἀκωλείας βυθόν, διεκτύσαμεν... " ὅτι μὴ κακὰ τούτων κρὸς θεοσοσέβειαν ὠφελήμεθα ἐκ τοῦ χείρονος τὸ κρεῖττον καταμαθόντες καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἐκείνων, ἰσχνὸν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου κεκοιημένοι... " Οὐκ οὖν ἀτιμαστέαν τὴν καίδευσιν, ὅτι τοῦτο δοκεῖ τισιν· ἀλλὰ σκαιοὺς καὶ ἀκαιδεύτους ὑπόληκτέον τοῖς οὕτως ἔχοντας, οἳ βούλονται ἂν ἅπαντας εἶναι καθ' ἑαυτούς, ἔν, ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τὸ κατ' αὐτοῖς κρύπτεται, καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀκαιδευσίας ἐλέγχους διὰ διδράσωσιν."

P.20(1) "Αγ.Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός:" "... κρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν τελειότητα διὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μαθημάτων ἀγόμενος. Οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἢ βίον μόνον, ἢ λόγον κατορθώκοτες, τῷ ἑτέρῳ δὲ λείκοντες, οὐδὲν τῶν ἑτεροφθάλμων /

ἑτεροφθάλμων ἔμοι δοκεῖν διαφέρουσιν, οἷς μεγάλη μὲν ἡ ζημία
μεῖζον δὲ τὸ αἶσχος ὀρώσι καὶ ὀραμένοις. Οἷς δὲ κατ'ἀμφο-
τερα εὐδοκίμειν ὑκάρχει, καὶ εἶναι περιδεξίοις, τοῦτοις καὶ
τὸ εἶναι τελείοις, καὶ βιοτεύειν μετὰ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν μακαριό-
τητος..."

P.20(2) "Αγ.Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης: " ... ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ τῆς ἔξω
καιδεύσεως κρὸς συζυγίαν ἡμῶν εἰς τεκνογονίαν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀ-
κοβλητέον..."

P.21 (2) "Αγ.Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός: " Ὡς ὁ κολῦς ἐν θεολογίᾳ ἔφη
Γρηγόριος, τὸν τῆς μετίτης τρόπον μιμούμενος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τῆς
ἀληθείας συνθήσομαι καὶ κατ'ἐχθρῶν σωτηρίαν καρπωθήσομαι· ἀκο-
κέμψομαι δὲ κἂν ὅ,τι φαῦλον καὶ τῆς ψευδωνύμου ἐχόμενον γνῶ-
σεως."

P.21 (3) Τοῦ αὐτοῦ: " Ἐπειδὴ φησιν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος· πάντα
δοκιμάζοντες τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε· ἐρευνήσαμεν καὶ τῶν ἔξω σοφῶν
τοὺς λόγους· ἴσως τι καὶ κατ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀγωγίμων εὐρήσομεν,
καὶ τι ψυχωφελες καρπωσόμεθα."

P.22 (1) Μιχ.Ψελλός: " Ἀλλ' εἴ που τις πεδιὰς ἢ βαθυτάτη κοιλάς
ἢ φάραγξ διερρωγυῖα ἢ μυχὸς γῆς ἄρρητος καὶ ἀδόρητος,
ἐκεῖσε καταβάς ἐνδομύχησον, κἄσιν ἐγκύκτων βιβλίοις ἡμετέροις
τε καὶ τοῖς θύραθεν καὶ τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς γυμνασθείας τὰ
κρῶτα, οὕτω ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσυλλογίστους γνῶσεις ἀνάβηθι· κἄσα γὰρ ἀ-
ρετῇ, μεθ' ἡπερηφανείας, ἀδελφε φίλτατε, καὶ οἰήσεως ἐσχάτη
καθέστηκε καὶ ἐκγονός ἐστι τῆς κατὰ διάθεσιν ἀγνοίας, ἣν δι-
κλῇ ὁ ἐμὸς, ὡς οἶει, βάλλει φιλόσοφος."

P.22 (2) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "...τῶν δὲ κατ'ἐκείνοις δογμάτων, ἃ μὲν
εὐθὺς καρεῶρακα, τινὲς δὲ ὡς κρὸς τὰς ἡμεδακὰς συνεργὰ ὑκοθέ-
σεις εὐ μάλα λαβὼν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις συνέμιξα, ὥς που δὴ
καὶ Γρηγόριος καὶ Βασίλειος οἱ μεγάλοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φωστή-
ρες κεκράχασιν· Ἐμὸς ὁ Πλάτων, ἄδελφε καὶ ὁ Χρύσιππος· ὁ δὲ
Χριστὸς ᾧ συνεσταύραμαι τίνος; δι' ὅσων ἐν συμβόλοις τὴν ὁλῆ-
κὴν ἀπέκερσα περιττότητα, δι' ὃν ἀφ' ἐτέρας κρὸς ἐτέραν μετετέ-
θην ζωὴν; Οὐ μὴν εἰ καθαρῶς εἰμὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοὺς σοφωτέ-
ρους τῶν λόγων ἀρνήσομαι καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ὄντων, ὅσα τὰ νο-
ητὰ καὶ ὅσα αἰσθητὰ κέφυκεν ἀκοδύσομαι."

P.23 (1) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: "ὁ εὐαγγελικὸς ἄνθρωπος...ἐξελεύσε-
ται καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς πεδιάδας... ἐπὶ ψυχοτρόφον νομὴν, ὁ-
κοίαν μυρίαν καὶ οἱ τῆς ἔξω σοφίας λειμῶνες φύουσιν... ἵνα

καὶ ἐξ ἀγρίων τούτων ἀνθέων καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἡμέρων μελιττοκοιῆται τοῖς κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀσυντελὲς ἡμῖν εἶη κρὸς ἀρετὴν."

P. 23(4) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: "Φιλόλογος ὁ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦδε πατήρ καὶ σοφίας ἐραστὴς ἐκατέρως, τῆς ἡμετέρας φημι καὶ τῆς ἑξωθεν, ὥς ἔστιν ἀκ' αὐτῶν τῶν συγγραμμάτων γνῶναι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα."

P. 24 (3) Νικηφ. Γρηγοράς: "Ἄνθρωπος δὲ οὗτος κολλαῖς περιηνοισμένος ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ πολλῇ τῇ σοφίᾳ ἐξησκημένος, δόδωκεν τε ἑλλήνων καὶ δόδωκεν οἱ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας κροστᾶται καὶ ῥήτορες εἰς ἡμετέραν ὠφέλειαν κρούθησαν."

P. 26 (3) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "...τῆς τέχνης ταύτης οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη μείζων. Τί γάρ ἴσον τοῦ ρυθμίσαι ψυχὴν καὶ διακλάσαι διάνοιαν;"

P. 26(5) Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: "...τῆς παιδείας ἡ κτησίς τῷ γεγηρακότει κρατίστη γίνεται βίου βακτηρία καὶ τὸν ἀνθοῦντα τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν εἰς ἀρετῆς ὥραν ἀλύκως διαβιβάζει."

P. 26 (6) Βασίλειος Α' ὁ Μακεδών: "Βιωφελὲς τι κτήμα καὶ σκουδατότατον οὐ μόνον βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιώταις ἡ καίτευσις. Καὶ γὰρ τοῖς κτημένοις αὐτὴν καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελεῖ..." "Αὕτη καὶ βασιλείαν κοσμεῖ καὶ τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ἀειμνήστους ἀποτελεῖ."

P. 27 (1) Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (συνέχεια): "ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡλίου ἐκὶ γῆς μὴ παρόντος σκοτεῖνὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀδιάκριτα οὕτω καὶ παιδεύσεως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μὴ παρούσης κεφυρμένα τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀδιόρθωτα. Δράξαι οὖν παιδείας τῆς ἐναρέτου· μόνη γὰρ ἀρετὴ τῶν κρημάτων ἀκάντων ἀθάνατος."

P. 27 (2) Θεόδωρος Πρόδρομος:

"Ἀπὸ μικρόθεν μ' ἔλεγεν ὁ γέρον ὁ πατήρ μου:
"παιδίον μου, μάθε γράμματα καὶ ὥς πρὶν ἐσέναν ἔχη·
βλέπεις τὸν δεῖνα, τέκνον μου, κεῖνος περιεκέτει·
καὶ τώρα δικλοεντέλιτος καὶ καχυμουλαράτος·
ὅταν ἐμάνθανεν αὐτός, δόδοισιν οὐκ εἶχεν,
καὶ τώρα βλέπεις τὸν, φορεῖ τὰ μακρυμύτικα του..."

P. 28 (7) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκαλὸν κρὸς πᾶν ἐκτεθήδειόν ἐστι τὴν ἑξῆς τὴν οἰκείαν, οὐδέπω κεκηγυῖαν ἔχον, διόπερ εὐκόλως κρὸς πάντα ἔλκεται..."

P. 29 (2) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "Ἄν εἰς ἀκαλὴν οὖσαν ἔτι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐντυπωθῇ τὰ καλὰ διδάγματα, οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ ἐξελεῖν δυνήσεται, ὅταν σκληρὰ γένηται ὡς κύκος, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ κηρός."

P. 29 (3) (Footnote) Γερμανός Β', Πατριάρχης: "ἕως ἔτι τὸ παιδίον ἄγραφον τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχει ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας γραμμάτων· ἔγγραφον αὐτός, /

αὐτός, κροφάσας, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ παραχωρήσεις τὸν σοφιστὴν τῆς κακίας ἐνσημῆναι κρῶτον τοῖς τύποις τῶν κονηρῶν κράξεων, κολλὰ ἂν κάμοις ὕστερον, ἀκαλεῖψαι τοῦτους ἐκ χειρῶν."

P. 30(5) Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: "ἀγχίβουν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι γενέσθαι τὸν μὴ φύσει τοῦτον κεφυκότα."

P. 31(2) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "Θὸς ἀρκεῖ ἡ φύσις καὶ γενναία ἡ, κρὸς τὴν τῶν μαθημάτων ἀνάληψιν ἄνευ καιδεύσεως".

P. 31(4) Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: "... μελέτη καὶ πραγμάτων κεῖρα κρόχειρον ἐμποιοῦσαι τὴν γνῶσιν κολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις δεύτερον ἔδειξαν τὸν ἐγγεγυμνασμένον ἢ τοῖς ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ φύσιν μετεσχηκότας."

P. 32 (1) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Δαμασκηνός: "Ἀλωτὰ γὰρ ἐπιμελεία καὶ κόπῃ γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν ἅπαντα· καὶ κρὸ πάντων καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῇ τοῦ δίδοντος Θεοῦ χάριτι."

P. 32 (3) Βιογράφος Ἰωάν. Δαμασκηνοῦ: "τάχει φύσεως καὶ σκουδῆς συντονίᾳ διὰ βραχέων συνελέγη τοῦτοις ἅπαν σκουδαιότατον μάθημα."

P. 32 (4) Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης: "ἡ μελέτη... καὶ κρᾶγμα βελτιοῖ καὶ ἀξάνει" "... καὶ τὰ τέχνη καὶ κρᾶξις διὰ τῆς μελέτης καὶ ἐπιμελείας βελτιοῦται καὶ καλῶς συνίσταται."

P. 33 (1) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "Μηδὲν οὐδ' ἄτοκον ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ καῖδες, μήτε καρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν, μήτε καρὰ παιδαγωγοῦ, μήτε καρὰ τροφῶν. Ἀλλὰ καθάπερ τὰ φυτὰ τότε μάλιστα πολλῆς χρείας ἔχει τῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὅταν ἀκαλὰ ᾖ, οὕτω καὶ οἱ καῖδες· ὥστε τροφῶν κρονοῦμεν ἀγαθῶν, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἐκ κρηκίδος καλὸς θεμέλιος βάλληται καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδέχονται κονηρόν."

P. 34 (1) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: "Δεῖναι μέντοι αἱ οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ ὀμιλίαι ὀκοφθεῖραι ἢ ὅς χρηστὸν καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γραμμῆς φασὶ λίθον κινεῖσαι καὶ μάλιστα αἱ καρὰ τῶν οἰκειοτέρων ὑφέρκουσαι καὶ τῇ τῆς εὐνοίας κροσχίματι κλέπτουσαι."

P. 34 (3) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "Εἰ δὲ καὶ οἰκέτας ἔχομεν σωφρονούντας καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἔστω τὰ παραδείγματα, ὅτι σφόδρα ἄτοκον τὸν μὲν οἰκέτην οὕτως εἶναι σῶφρονα, τὸν δὲ ἐλεύθερον ἐκείνου φαυλότερον γενέσθαι."

P. 34 (5) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "... Ἀνήγετο μὲν ὑπὸ μητρὶ φιλοσέμνῃ, πάντα χόθεν αὐτῇ κρονοουμένη τὸ κόσμιον, καὶ μὴ ἑώση τῇ ἀκαλῇ τῆς φύσεως ἐντυκωθῆναι τὰ χεῖριστα."

P.36 (1) "Αγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: " Ἐκεῖ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ μάθησιν.. συλλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κόλιν ἐστέλλετο ὥς ἂν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδοίη τῶν καλῶν ἀγωγίμων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδεύσεως."

P.36 (2) Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: " Διδὼ οὐ μόνον σεαυτὸν προ-
νεῖν οὕτω θεῖ καὶ δοξάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ σὲ τεταγμένους εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φρόνημα χειραγωγεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν καταρτίζειν πίστιν, καὶ μηδὲν τῆς τοιαύτης σκουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμε-
λείας ἡγεῖσθαι τιμιώτερον."

P.37 (2) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: " Ἐκεῖ δὲ οἶδα ὡς οὐ κατὰ σεαυτὸν μόνον καθεύξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους διαδώσεις, διὰ ταῦτα γράφειν δεῖν ἔγνωμεν ταῦτα."

P.37 (6) Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: "... ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐστερήθημεν καὶ βιβλίων καὶ νῦν τοῦτο καὶ παράδοξον... Διατὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀφηρέθη τὰ βιβλία; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τι ἀδικοῦμεν, κλείονα ἔδει δοθῆναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς διδάσκοντας, ἵνα καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες μᾶλλον ὠφελάμεθα καὶ ἐλεγχόμενοι διορθώμεθα."

P.38 (3) "Αγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος : " Διὰ τοῦτο διδασκάλους μᾶλλον τῶν κατέρων ἐκζητεῖν δεῖ καὶ ποθεῖν· διὰ τούτων μὲν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν, δι' ἐκείνων δὲ τὸ καλῶς ζῆν γίνεται."

P.38 (5) Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος: " Ἐκικίνδυνόν ἐστι καὶ ὀλέθριον τοῖς μαθητευομένοις ἐπιλέγεσθαι ὁδηγὸν κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ἐν κρημνοῖς καὶ βαράθροις καὶ ἐν τόκοις ἀκωλείας ὀδεύουσι."

P.39 (1) "Αγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: "... ὁδηγὸν τυφλὸν λαβεῖν καὶ σύμβουλον ἀνόητον ἴσον ἐστίν."

P.39 (4) "Αγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: "... μὴ φαινόμεθα τῆς θαυμα-
σίας ἀρετῆς κακοὶ ζωγράφοι..., ἄλλους ἱατρεῦειν ἐπιχειροῦντες αὐτοὶ βρῦοντες ἔλκεσι."

P.40 (2) "Οσιος Δωρόθεος: " Ἐὰν εἰ ἀδελφῶν ἐκιστάτης, φρόντισον αὐτῶ... παιδεύων αὐτοὺς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, τὰ πρακτέα, τὰ κλείω δὲ ἔργῳ· ἐπειδὴ τὰ ὑποδείγματα μᾶλλον ἐναργέστερά εἰσιν."

P.40 (4) "Αγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "... οὐδὲν οὕτω πρὸς διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγωγὸν ὥς τὸ φιλεῖν καὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι."

P.40 (5) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: " Ὡ ἀγάκη μελιττόεσσα..., ἦν ὁ μὴ προφέρων διδάσκαλος μίσους ἐστὶ κατάξιος."

P.42 (1) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: " Καὶ ἀλγύνομαι μὲν συχνῶς ἐκμυζώμενος καὶ τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας θηλὴν ἐκθλιβόμενος. Πάντες γὰρ λόγοι ἐγκοκοί· χαίρω δὲ κάλιν ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ τρεφομένων

καὶ ἐκεύχομαι κροκόκτοντας ὑμᾶς εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον κατιδεῖν..."

P.43 (2) "Αγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: " Ὡς τό γε παιδεύειν ἄλλους ἐπιχειρεῖν, κρίν αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς παιδευθῆναι... λίαν εἶναι μοι φαίνεται ἀνοήτων ἢ τολμηρῶν· ἀσυνέτων μὲν, εἰ μὴδὲ αἰσθάνονται τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθείας· θρασέων δὲ, εἰ καὶ συνιέντες, κατατολμῶσι τοῦ κράγματος."

P.44 (2) "Αγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης: " Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύστασιν τὴν καταβληθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ κατεβλήθησαν καὶ οἱ λόγοι τῆς ἀξίσεως. οὐ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα νεώτερόν ἐστι τὸ χάρισμα τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιγενόμενον, ἀλλ' αἱ μητράι καταβολαὶ συγκαταβεβλημένας ἔχουσι τὰς κρὺς τὸ ἀξάνεσθαι ἐκτελειότητος."

P.45 (2) Μέγας Βασίλειος: " Οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ τῷ ἀρτιγενεῖ παιδίῳ ὁ εἰς διδασκαλεῖον φοιτῶν ἤδη καὶς, καὶ κρὺς τὰς τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ μαθημάτων ἀναλήψεις ἐκτελειῶς ἔχων· ἕτερος δὲ κάλιν παρὰ τοῦτον ὁμολογουμένως ἐστὶν ὁ ἔφηρος, ἤδη τῶν νεανικῶν ἀκτεσθαι δυνάμενος. Καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἔφηρον ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος τίς ἐστὶ καὶ στερρότητι καὶ μεγέθει σώματος καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου συμπληρώσει."

PP.50-51 (1) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: " Ναι φησιν, ἀλλὰ διφυῆ τὰ αἰσθητικὰ ὄργανα· διφυῆ μὲν εἶκομεν καὶ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ μονοειδὴς ἡ ἔνδοθεν θαλαμευομένη αἴσθησις ὥσπερ τις σεμνοτάτη δέσποινα, ἥς οἱ κυλωροὶ καὶ θεράπαινοι τὰ αἰσθητήρια ταῦτα προβέβληνται, καὶ, ὅτε μὴ κατ' ἐκείνης τὰς τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι δυνάμεις ὡς ἀπὸ κέντρου τινος ἐξουσίας εὐθείας δέξαιντο, κατ' ἴσον τοῖς τῶν ἀνδριάντων διὰ κενῆς ἀνεψύγασιν."

P.51 (4) Μέγας Βασίλειος: " ... τῇ δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρουσίᾳ κρὺς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ὑπεραρβῆναι δυνάμενον."

P.52 (1) Μέγας Βασίλειος: " Φ.. Οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ τὸν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ὑπερφυῶν θαυμάτων ἐξεταστήν, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἄκρας ὄντως καὶ ἀκορρήτου σοφίας ἀκροατὴν προσῆκεν οἴκοθεν ἔχειν ἡκοντὰ τινὰς ἀφορμὰς κρὺς τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν προκειμένων, καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀγωνίας εἰς δύναντιν, οὐχὶ κριτὴν μᾶλλον ἢ συναγωνιστὴν καρεστώτα· μήποτε ἤρα διαλάβῃ ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ εὕρεσις, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν σφάλμα κοινὴ ζημία τῶν ἀκουόντων γένηται."

P.53 (2) Πεδστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: " Στόμα δ' ἐντάυθα καὶ σοφίαν ἀκούσας, μὴ ἀπεριμερίμνως ἐκβάλλῃς τῷ ἀκοῇ, ἀλλ' ἐμβάθυνον· θ."

PP.53-54 (1) Μέγας Βασίλειος: " ... οὐ βασκαίνουσα ἡμῖν τῆς γνώσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκκαίνουσα ἡμᾶς κρὺς τὸν κόθον, δι' ὃν ἔχνη τινὰ καὶ ἐμφάσεις ὑποβάλλει τοῦ ἀκορρήτου. Τὸ γὰρ κόνῳ κτηθέν περιχαρῶς ὑπεδέχθη καὶ φιλοκόνως διεφυλάχθη· ὧν μέντοι κρὺς χεῖρος ὁ κορισμὸς, τούτων ἡ κτησις εὐκαταφρόνητος."

P.54 (2) "Αγ. Ιωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: " Ἐκὶ μὲν τῆς γῆς τὸ πᾶν τοῦ γεωργοῦ γίνεται... ἄψυχος γὰρ ἐκείνη ὁκόμεται, πρὸς τὸ καθεῖν ἕτοιμος οὖσα μόνον· ἐκὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γῆς τῆς πνευματικῆς οὐδαμῶς· οὐ τῶν διδασκάλων ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλ' εἴ μὴ τὸ κλέον, τὸ γοῦν ἡμῖς καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν. Ἡμῶν μὲν οὖν καταβαλλεῖν ἐστὶ τὸν σκόρον, ὁμῶν δὲ κοιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα, τῇ μνήμῃ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐκιδεικνύσθαι τοὺς καρπούς, τὰς ἀκάνθας προρρίζουσι ἀνασκᾶν."

P.55 (2) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: " Εἰ δὲ τὰ λαλούμενα οὐκ ἀρέσκει, ἀκορήσατε, καὶ ἐκὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντευθήτωσαν αἱ τε ἀντιθέσεις καὶ αἱ λύσεις πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν... ἕκαστος ὁμῶν ἔχει τὴν κατὰ πνεῦμα κρυφίαν λίθον καὶ δύναται δι' αὐτῆς βασανίζειν, ὅσον ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις νοήμασιν ἀρρῦκαρον."

P.55 (3) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: " Σοφίζει δὲ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἀγαπώμενος ὁ ἑλεγχος· ἑλέγχε γὰρ, φησί, σοφόν, καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε ἁφορμήν· ἐντεῦθεν λαβὼν τοῦ καὶ σοφώτερος εἶναι."

P.57-58 (1) Ἰσίδ. Πηλουσιώτης: " ἡ τῶν λόγων δύναμις· θεραπευομένη γὰρ καὶ ἀρδευομένη μεγίστη γίνεται· ἀμελουμένη δὲ ραδίως ἀποφοιτᾷ καὶ ἀφίπταται."

P.59 (1) "Αγ. Ιωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: " Πρᾶξις λόγου ἐναργεστέρα, ὥς ἀκοῆς ὤψις, καὶ τῆς διὰ στόματος διδαχῆς ἢ διὰ κείρας διδασκαλία."

PP. 60-61 (1) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: "... καθὰ διδάσκαλος μέγας, προσφυέστερον δ' ἐφάναι, διδασκάλων διδάσκαλος, (καὶ φιλοσοφίας δὲ ἀπάσης, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνυκαθέτου προΐστάμενος...) οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μόνου μυσταγωγεῖν· ἀλλὰ σοφίσας κολυειδῶς ἑτέρους, εἰς ὅσον ἐγχαρεῖ, προβάλλεται διδάσκειν τοὺς ὀκιδεστέρους ἐν φοιτηταῖς. Αὐτὸς μὲντοι καρὼν ἐφ' ἅκασι δόγμασι, καὶ διαρθρῶν, εἴ τί που δυσφραδῶς ἔχει, καὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκιδιορθούμενος, ὅκοι δεήσεις..."

P.62 (3) "Αγ. Ιωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: " Ἀρκεῖ μέχρι τούτων αὐτῷ. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐν μιᾷ ἐσκέρα· εἰπέ δεικῶν. Καὶ κάλιν ἢ μήτηρ τὰ αὐτὰ λεγέτω. Εἴτα, ἐκείδαν κολλάκις ἀκούσῃ, ἀκαίτησον καὶ αὐτόν. Ἐἰκέ μοι τὸ διήγημα."

P.62 (4) "Αγ. Ιωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: " Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἄριστος διδασκαλίας εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τρόπος, τὸ μὴ κρότερον ἀφίστασθαι συμβουλεύοντας ὅπερ ὁ τοῦ οὖν, ἕως ἂν εἰς ἔργον τὴν συμβουλήν ἐξεληθοῦσαν ἴδωμεν... Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι κοινοῦσι."

P.62 (5) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: "... κερί ἐνδὲς εἰκόντα, μὴ κρότερον ἐκστήναι τῆς κερί τούτου διδασκαλίας ἢ ὅταν ἐπιγνώμεν τοῦτο κατωρθώκοντας ὁμᾶς, εἴτα μεταβῆναι πρὸς ἕτερον... ὁ εἰς κολλὰ κατὰ ταυτὸν μεριζόμενος ἀκοιτυγχάνει καὶ τοῦ ἐνός."

P.63 (2) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: "Ο διδάσκαλος "... οὐκ ἀνέχε-
ται μὴ εἰς φῶς ἀγαγεῖν διευκρινήσας τὸ δυσκατάληκτον, ἀλλὰ
διερμηνεύει σαφῶς, καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐκείνων κτᾶται ψυχὰς.·

P.63-64 (1) Ἀγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: "Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δέονται
γάλακτι τρέφεσθαι, τοῖς ἀκλουστέροις καὶ στοιχειωδεστέροις τῶν
διδασμάτων, ὅσοι τὴν ἔξιν (εἰσι) νήκιοι καὶ ἀρικαγεῖς, ὡς ἂν εἴ-
ποι τις, τὴν ἀνδρείαν τοῦ λόγου τροφήν οὐ φέροντες· ἦν ἂν
ἐρυσάγοι, τοῖς ἑκαρὰ δύναμιν, τάχα ὡς καταβιεσθέντες καὶ βαρυ-
θέντες, οὐκ ἐξαρκούσης τῆς διανοίας, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τῆς ὕλης τὸ
ἐκείσελθόν ἐλκῦσαι καὶ οἰκειώσασθαι, ζημιωθείεν ἂν καὶ εἰς
τὴν ἀρχαίαν δύναμιν· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς τελείοις λαλουμένης
σοφίας χρῆζοντες καὶ τροφῆς τῆς ὑψηλοτέρας καὶ στερροτέρας
τῷ πρὸς διάκρισιν ἀληθοῦς τε καὶ ψευδοῦς ἱκανῶς γεγυμνάσθαι τὰ
αἰσθητήρια, εἰ γάλα ποτίζοιντο καὶ τρέφοιντο λαχάνοις, ἀσθενῶν
βρώματι, δυσχεραίνουεν ἂν καὶ μάλα εἰκότως, οὐ δυναμοῦμενοι
κατὰ Χριστόν, οὐδὲ ἀξάνοντες τὴν ἐκαινετὴν αὐξήσιν, ἣν ἐργά-
ζεται λόγος, τελίων εἰς ἄνδρα, καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἅγων
πνευματικῆς, τὸν καλῶς τρεφόμενον."

P.64 (2) Μέγας Βασίλειος: "...βίαιον μὲν γὰρ μάθημα φύσις
οὐ κέφυκε παραμένειν, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τέρψεως καὶ χάριτος εἰσδυό-
μενον μονιμώτερόν κῶς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν ἐνιζάνει."

P.65 (3) Μέγας Βασίλειος: "Καὶ ἡ προσοχὴ δὲ τῆς διανοίας καὶ
ὁ τοῦ μὴ μετεωρίζεσθαι ἐθισμός, εὐκόλως ἂν διὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἀγωγῆς
τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐγγίγνοιτο, εἰ καρὰ τῶν ἐπιστατούντων συνεχῶς
ἀνακρίνοιντο καὶ ἔχουσι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ τί στρέφουσι τοῖς
λογισμοῖς.·

P.66 (5) Ἀγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: "... οὕτω καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δια-
φόρῳ λόγῳ καὶ ἀγωγῇ θεραπευτέον... Τοῦς μὲν γὰρ ἄγει λόγος, οἱ
δὲ ρυθμίζονται παραδείγμασιν. Οἱ μὲν δέονται κέντρου, οἱ δὲ
χαλινοῦ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰσι νωθροὶ καὶ δυσκέθῃτοι πρὸς τὸ κα-
λόν, οἱ δὲ θερμότεροι τοῦ μέτρου καὶ δυσκάθεκτοι ταῖς ὀρ-
μαῖς,.... οὕς βελτίους ἂν κοιήσειαν ἐλέγχων καὶ ἀνακόμτων ὁ
λόγος."

P.67 (1) Εὐστάθιος Πηλουσιώτης: "Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱεροὶ χρη-
σμοὶ τὰ δέοντα καὶ κρέκοντα νομοθετήσαντες, ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐν,
τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦς διδασκάλους ἐφιστᾶσι τῆς ἀρετῆς καλῶν-
τες εἰσκαμάσαι τὴν κονηρίαν. Οὗτος γὰρ ἄριστος διδασκαλίας
τρόπος, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντος πρότερον κρατῆσαι τὴν κακίαν, ὕστερον
δὲ μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξελαθείη· ἀλλ' ἐν προοιμίῳ πάντα κοιβεῖν
καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι, ὥστε ἄβατον αὐτῇ εἶναι τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύ-
σιν. Οἱ δὲ ἐξωθεν νομοθέται τότε ρυθμίζουσιν αὐτήν, ὅταν δι-
αστραφεῖσα τύχη."

P.69 (3) 'Ισίδ. Πηλουσιώτης : "... τρόπων οὐν μάλλον ἢ λόγων ἡγούμενος εἶναι σαυτὸν παιδευτὴν, δείκνυε αὐτοῖς ἀρχέτυκόν τινα χαρακτῆρα τὸν σαυτοῦ βίον· οὐ γὰρ ὁ λόγος τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὁ βίος εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐνάγει."

P.70 (1) "Αγ. 'Ιωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος : "Ὁ ἐκί τοῖς κατωρθώμασιν ἔκαινο σφοδρότεράν τοῖς κατωρθώμασι τὴν κρῆς τὸ κρεῖττον ἐκισυμίαν προστίθῃσι."

P.70 (5) Θεοδώρητος ὁ Κύρου : "Οἶδε γὰρ πολλοὺς καλλάκεις καὶ λωβασθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἔκαινος. Χαυνοὶ γὰρ τὴν κροθυμίαν, καὶ τὸν δρόμον λυμαίνεται. Καὶ ἡγούμενός τις αὐτὸ κατειληφέναι τοῦ δρόμου τὸ τέρμα (τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ἔκαινος ὁκαινίσσεται) καθεταί τοῦ τρέχειν καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀκόλλυσι."

P.70 (6) Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως : " Ἐκαίνει τὰς ἀρετάς, ~~καὶ~~ μὴ θαύμαζε κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦς σοῦς μαθητὰς μετιόντας αὐτάς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προτροπὴ καὶ παρὰκλησίς ἐστι, τὸ δὲ καὶ σὲ κολακείας οὐκ ἴστησι καὶ κρῆς οἴησιν τοῦς θαυμασθέντας ἢ μαλακίαν τοῦ τόνου τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶωθεν ὀκochaλᾶν."

P.72 (5) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης : " Μνήμην ἔχουσι τοῦ κακοῦσθαι οἱ παιδαγωγούμενοι καὶ βελτιοῦνται τῇ μνήμῃ ἐναγόμενοι τῇ εἰσάκαε κακώσει κρῆς τὸ μὴ ἐφεξῆς ἐφάμαρτον."

P.73 (2) "Οσιος Δωρόθεος : "... μὴδὲ συνεχῶς ἔλεγχε· φορτικὸν γὰρ τοῦτο, καὶ διὰ τῆς συνηθείας τοῦ ἐλέγχου, εἰς ἀναισθησίαν ἄγει καὶ καταφρόνησιν."

P.73 (4) Μέγας Βασίλειος : "... καὶ μαρτυρίαν ἔχων ἐκὶ μακροθυμίας, ὥστε πατρικῇ μὲν εὐσεβελανία, λόγῳ δὲ ἐπιστημονικῇ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα τῶν νέων ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, οἰκείας ἐκάστῳ κταίσματι τὰς θεραπείας προσάγοντα, ὥστε τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπιτίμησιν ἔχει τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος καὶ γυμνάσιον ἀκαθείας τῇ ψυχῇ γίνεσθαι."

P.74 (5) 'Ισίδ. Πηλουσιώτης : " Χρὴ ἐκὶ μὲν τοῖς μικροῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, εἰ μὲν λανθάνοντες βελτιοῦνται, μὴδὲ εἰδέναι προσκοιεῖσθαι· εἰ εἰς τὸ χεῖρον τρέπονται, μετὰ τὸν ἔλεγχον καὶ τὴν μετρίαν ἐπιτίμησιν, συγγνώμην νέμειν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ταύτην ταμιεύεσθαι καὶ σωφρονίζειν τοῦς κταίνοντας καὶ χωρισμῷ καὶ ἐπιτίμῃ, ἕως ἂν μετανοήσωσι καὶ τότε προσέεσθαι."

P.85 (2) Μιχ. Ψελλός : " Ἐδοξε δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μὴ κατὰ γενεολογίαν τοῦς ἐν τέλει προΐεναι καὶ ὅσοι τῷ βήματι κλησιάζουσι, μὴ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων μόνον γενῶν τὴν συγκλητικὴν κληροδοθεῖν βουλήν καὶ τὰ τῶν δημοσίων ἀρχεῖα καὶ ὅσα περὶ νόμους τε καὶ ψηφίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας μερίδος, εἴ τινες δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εὐδόκιμοι κρῆς ταῦτα φανεῖεν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταληλότεροι."

P.99 (1) "Αγ. 'Ιωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος : " Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο φιλεῖσθαι ὁκὸ

τῶν γεννησάντων ἡμᾶς κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Θεός, ἵνα καιδευτὰς ἔχαμεν ἀρε-
τῆς. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ σκεῖραι κοιεῖ κατέρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ τὸ καιδεῦσαι
καλῶς· οὐδὲ τὸ κυῆσαι μητέρα ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ θρέψαι καλῶς".

P.112 (1) Μέγας Βασίλειος : " Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μελέ-
την οἰκείαν εἶναι τῷ σκοπῷ, ὥστε καὶ ὀνόμασιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐκ
τῶν Γραφῶν κεχρηῆσθαι."

P.112 (3) Μιχ. Ψελλός : "... οὕτω τοὶ καὶ στοιχειῶδων ἤκτετο γραμ-
μάτων, καὶ ψίξεως συλλαβῶν, καὶ ὀνομάτων συνθήκης, ἀφ' ὧν προκα-
ταρτισθεῖσα τὸν νοῦν καὶ Δαυϊτικοῖς ψαλμοῖς ἐνεβιβάζετο."

P.114 (1) Ἁγίος Ἀθανάσιος : " Ὡς περ γὰρ τὰ ἐσφυέστατα τῶν παι-
δίων, ἔτι ἐν ταῖς ἀνάλυσις ὄντα, ἀμιλλῶνται τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ
κλείῳ χρόνῳ ἔχουσι παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις· οὕτω καὶ αὕτη, ζέ-
ουσα τῷ πνεύματι, καρέτρεχε τὰς λοιπὰς."

P.115 (3) Ἁγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης : "... ἄλλως ἢ Παροιμία καιδεύει, καὶ
ἕλλως ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής διαλέγεται· καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Ἀσματος τῶν Ἀσμά-
των φιλοσοφία, διὰ τῶν ὑψηλοτέρων δογμάτων ἀμφοτέρων ὁκέρκεται."
" Ἡ γὰρ διὰ τῶν Παροιμιῶν διδασκαλία, κρὺς τὸν ἔτι νηπιῶντα
κοιεῖ τοὺς λόγους, καταλλήλως τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς λόγους ἀρμόζουσα."

P.116 (2) Ἁγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός : "... ὥς καὶ οἱ τὰς μορφὰς
γράφοντες, καὶ τὰ γράμματα, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας ἄλ-
λως ἐπιτυχεῖν, εἰ μὴ κρὺς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον βλέποντες, κακεῖθεν χει-
ραγωγούμενους."

P.116 (3) Ἰσίδ. Πηλουσιώτης : " Ὡς περ γὰρ οἱ γραμματιστὰὶ γρα-
φίδα λαβόντες μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κάλλους τὰ στοιχεῖα χαράττουσι,
καὶ τοῖς ἀρτιμαθέσι παρέχουσι, ἵν' ὥς οἶδν τε μιμήσασθε δυνηθεῖεν."

P.118 (1) Ἀνωνύμου Βίος δαΐου Νικολάου τοῦ Στουδίτου : " Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
ἡλικίαν προβαίνων, τὰς εἰσαγωγικὰς μαθήσεις ἐσφυῶς ἄγαν καὶ φιλοκό-
νως ἐξήσκησεν, ἔχρη δὲ λοιπόν, καὶ γραμματικῆς ὅσον κρὺς τὸ
γράφειν ὀρθῶς τὴν ἐπιστήμην κορίσασθαι."

P.119 (7) Εὐοτήτο Μέγας Βασίλειος : " τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν
τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἕνα τῷ κροσηνεῖ καὶ λείψ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ
ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὁκοδεξώμεθα... Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἐναρ-
μόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐκινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ καῖδες τὴν
ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως νεαροὶ τὸ ἥθος, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελωδῶσι, τῇ
δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται."

P.120 (2) Μιχ. Ψελλός : "... νῦν μὲν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἀγόμενον ὁπὸ τοῦ κα-
τρὸς καὶ θυόμενον, καὶ πάντα κειθόμενον τῷ γεννήτορι, νῦν δὲ
τὸν Ἰακώβ ἐδολογίας τυγχάνοντα πατρικῆς... νῦν δὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν θει-
οτέρων."

P.125-126(1) Νικόλαος Παβδάς : " Ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ κατέξεις τοὺς
ἀριθμοὺς οὕτως· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ λαιᾷ ὀφείλεις ἀεὶ τοὺς μοναδι-
κοὺς /

κοὺς καὶ δεκαδικοὺς κρατεῖν ἀριθμούς, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ τοὺς ἑκατονταδικοὺς καὶ χιλιονταδικοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἐκείναια τούτων χαράττειν ἐν τινι· οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ὅπως καθέξεις ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ. Συστελλόμενου δὲ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μικροῦ δακτύλου, τοῦ μύωπος καλουμένου τῶν δὲ τεσσάρων ἐκτεταμένων καὶ ἰσταμένων ὀρθίων, κατέχεις ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ μονῆδα μίαν ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ χιλιοντάδα μίαν. Καὶ πάλιν συστελλομένου καὶ τούτου καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν δευτέρου δακτύλου, τοῦ παραμέσου καὶ ἐπιβάτου καλουμένου, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὡς ἔφημεν ἡκλαμένων, κρατεῖς ἐν μὲν τῇ ἐδωνύμφῃ δύο, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ δισχίλια."

P. 127 (1) Ἀγ. Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "... ἔστι παρὰ ταῖς γραμματισταῖς ὁ τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων ἀριθμός, καὶ ὅπερ τοῦτον ἅπαντα ἄγεται, καὶ πάντα μερίζειν καὶ κολλακλασιάζειν δυνατὸν ἐν τῷ ἑαυδόνι τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων .."

P.127 (2) Κεδρηνός: "Ὁρῶν(ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Λέων) δὲ ὅτι ἔστι τοῖς πονηροῖς εἰς τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀφορμὴ διὰ τὸ σύντομον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς μορίων, τοῦ ἡμίσεος φημί καὶ ἑκτου καὶ δωδεκάτου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, χραμένων τοῖς παλαιοῖς σημείοις τῶν γραφῶν, ἠθέλησε καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ἀδικεῖν ἐλομένων περιέλεῖν ἀφορμὴν, καὶ διωρίσατο γράμμασι λιτοῖς, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀγροϊκοῖς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ῥάδιον, τὰ τοιαῦτα γράφεσθαι σημεία· οἴκοθεν καταβαλὼν καὶ τὴν τῶν χαρτίων δαπάνην καὶ τὴν γραμμάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν γραφῶν."

P.128(4) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος: "... ἐκεῖνα πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας οὐ τολμᾷ ἀναχωρῆσαι οἵκαδε, ἀλλ' ἄρτι τῆς θηλῆς ἀποστάντα, οὐδέκω οὐδὲ πέντε ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν ἄγοντα, ἐν νεαρῷ καὶ ἀκαλῷ σώματι κᾶσαν καρτερίαν ἐπιδείκνυται· καὶ κνίγος, καὶ δίψος, καὶ ἄλλο ὀτιοῦν παρενοχλῇ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μέσσην διακαρτερεῖ καὶ ταλαικωρεῖται ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ καθήμενα."

PR 130-131 (1) Ἀγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης: "... παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ καὶ ἔργῳ μιμεῖται τοῦ καθηγητοῦ τὴν παράδοσιν. Ὡς δὲ κου καὶ βαθυμῆσαν ἀκοτυμπανισθῇ τῷ σκύτει, οὐ θρασύνεται τῇ κληγῇ, οὐδὲ τὰς δέλτους τῷ διδασκάλῳ περιρρήξαν ἀποφοιτᾷ· ἀλλ' ἐκ' ὀλίγον τῇ ἀλγηδόνι μικρὸν ἐπιστάξαν τὸ δάκρυον, ἔχεται τῶν μαθημάτων, καὶ συντονώτερον περὶ τὴν μελέτην ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀμελέστερον γίνεται." Ἀλλοτε πάλιν ὀλιγορήσας ὡς νέος, κελεύεται μένειν ἀπόσιτος καὶ τῷ λιμῷ τὴν βαθυμίαν καταδικάζεται. Παραμένει δὲ ἐν τῷ διδασκαλείῳ καὶ μόνος, τῶν ἄλλων καίδων ἀναχωρησάντων ἐκ' ἀριστον, τηρῶν τὸ πρόσταγμα σὺν εὐλαβείᾳ κολλῇ."

P.132 (3) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "... καὶ ἦν μοι τὸ μάθημα οὐ μόνον εὐχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδύ, ἀντ' ἄλλης τινὸς παιδιᾶς· ἠνιόμην γοῦν εἰ μή μοι /

μή μοι διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας διδοίη τὰ παιδικά, καὶ ἦν μοι καὶ διὰ μὲν ἡ σκουδή, σκουδή δὲ ἡ παιδιά, οὐχ ὥς ταῦτα καίζοντι, ἐκείνα δὲ σκουδάζοντι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἐχομένῳ διὰ τὸ ἡδύ, τούτων δὲ ἀπεχομένῳ διὰ τὸ τραχύ."

P.133 (2) Μέγας Βασίλειος : " Οἱ δὲ καῖδες οἱ σμικρότατοι οὗτοι, οἱ τὰς δέλτους ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις ἀποθέμενοι, καὶ συμβοῶντες ἡμῖν, ὥς ἄνεσιν μᾶλλον τὸ πρᾶγμα μετέρχονται, ἐορτὴν κοιούμενοι τὴν ἡμετέραν λύκην, ἐπειδὴ τῆς ἐπαχθείας τοῦ παιδεύτου καὶ τῆς φροντίδος τῶν μαθημάτων κρὺς ὀλίγον ἐλευθεροῦνται."

P.134 (2) Ἀγαθίας: (Ἐπιγράμματα):

"... ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ φῶς λεύσσειν θέμις,
ἀλλὰ μελόθροισι κρυπτόμεθα,
ζοφεραῖς φροντίσι τηρόμεναι..."

P.134 (3) Χορίκιος : "... τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐνδιδόναι μικρὰν ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν βρασιάνην, εἴτε πανδήμου τινὸς ἐορτῆς ἀγομένης, εἴτε σύγγραμμα νέον κεκληρωκότος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν παιδευτὴν χρυσοῦν ἓνα νενομοθέτηται/λαμβάνειν/ καὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀνάπαυλιν αὐτῷ διδόναι τῷ νέῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς φραζόμεναις καλαίστρας."

P.136 (5) Ἀγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: " Ἦν δὲ τῇ μητρὶ σκουδή, καὶ παιδεῦσαι μὲν τὴν καῖδα· μὴ μὲντοι τὴν ἔξωθεν ταύτην καὶ ἐγκύκλιον καίδουσιν, ἥν, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ, διὰ τῶν κοιημάτων αἱ πρῶται τῶν παιδευομένων ἡλικίαι διδάσκονται."

P.137 (1) Βίος Ἀγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ: " πᾶσαν μετήειν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον κρυπτόμενην ὥσπερ θεμέλιον."

P.137 (6) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης : " Παρομάρτει καὶ σὺ, Γραμματικὴ μετὰ χοροῦ, ὅσος ἐγκύκλιος."

P.137 (7) Γεώργιος Ἀκροκολίτης: " Ὀλίγα τινὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων φιλοσοφίας τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν παντάπασιν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπείρως ἔχειν..."

P.137 (8) Γεώργιος Ἀκροκολίτης: " ... ἀπεστάλην τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκκαδικῆς ὡν καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐγκυκλίου ἀπηλλαγμένος παιδείας, ἥν γραμματικὴν κατονομάζουσιν οἱ κολλοί."

P.139 (4) Ἰσιδ. Πηλουσιώτης: " Ἀνάγκη τὸν μὲν σχολάζουσαν τέχνην, ἄριστα ταύτην διηκριβῶσθαι. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶς ἑαυτοὺς παρέχοντες, εἰ δόξειαν πολλὰς εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ πασῶν εἰς τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀφίξονται. Ἀλλ' εἰ χρή τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν ὅλας ἡμιτελεῖς καὶ ἄωρους κεκτήσονται. Εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκεῖεν κλεονεκτεῖν τῷ πολλὰς εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ἀντικλεονεκτοῦσι τῷ λείπεσθαι τοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐκάστην τέχνην ἄκροις."

P.141 (2) Εὐσέβιος Ὁ Καισαρείας : " Ὅταν παιδεῖαν χρή μόνην ἡ-

γεῖσται τὴν εἰς ἀρετὴν προάγουσαν· οὐχὶς δὲ εἰς χρηματισμὸν ἢ τινὰ βιοκοριστικὴν ἐπιτῆδευσιν...τὴν δὲ κρὺς ἀρετὴν ἐκ καί-
δων καυδεῖαν κοιούσαν ἐπιθυμητὴν τε καὶ ἐραστὴν τοῦ πολίτην
γενέσθαι τέλειον, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον μετὰ δίκης.
Ταύτην τὴν τροφήν, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται νῦν βοδλοῖτ' ἂν μόνην
παιδεῖαν προσαγορεύειν· τὴν δὲ εἰς χρήματα τείνουσαν ἢ τιγὰς
κρὺς ἰσχύον, ἢ καὶ κρὺς ἄλλην τινὰ σοφίαν ἄνευ νοῦ καὶ δί-
κης, βάνυσόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἡνελεύθερον, καὶ οὐκ ἀξίαν τὸ κα-
ράπαν παιδεῖαν καλεῖσθαι."

P.146 (3) Λέων ὁ Σωφός, ὁ Αὐτοκράτωρ : "... ὀφείλει... παιδευθῆναι φ
δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδεύειν, ὥς μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ἐν ταῖς
ἐκδόσεσιν ἢ διολισθαίνειν περὶ τὴν λέξιν," "... ὀφείλει... μᾶλλον
(σεμνὸς τὸ ἦθος καὶ τῇ φρονήσει ἀκέραιος, λόγιός τε καὶ συνε-
τος) καὶ περὶ τὴν λέξιν εὐστροφος καὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον εὐάρ-
μοστος τοῦ μὴ ῥᾶστα ᾄδει κἀκείσε κεριφέρεισθαι εἰς τε τὰς
τῶν φασμαμάτων γραφὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν δελεασμάτων παραγραφάς,".

P.147 (3) Ἰγνάτιος, μάγιστρος τῶν γραμματικῶν:

"Ἰγνάτιος τὰδε τεῦξεν, ὃς εἰς φάος ἤγαγε τέχνην
γραμματικὴν λήθης κευθομένην κελάγει."

P.151 (1) Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης: "... καὶ ἀποτρεκόμενος εὖ μάλα
καὶ καθάκαξ ἀνεκιστρόφως κρὺς τὴν ἐπικολάσασαν ταύτην ὕψτε-
ρον ἀκαιρίαν καὶ τῶν καλῶν γεννικῶν θεσμῶν ἐκτροπήν, τὴν
νέαν ὄντως καὶ νεωτερικὴν καὶ λίχυν, καὶ κάλλεσιν ἐπιθέτοις
ὥς γ' ἔδοξε βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ φλαύροις καὶ οὐδὲν ὕγιες ἔχου-
σιν, οὐδὲ μεγάλους κρέκον, καταβακχεύουσιν ἄσεμνα γλώττης οἴ-
στρω καὶ ψόφῳ διακένῳ καὶ βρονταῖς ἀτόκων καὶ παρανόμων ῥη-
μάτων κατακροτούσαν τὴν ἀκαθὴ καὶ ἀμαθὴ μάλιστα τῶν καλλίστων
ἀκοῇ, καὶ ὥς ἀληθῶς ἄωρίᾳ κλειστήν ἔκλυον καὶ ἀναρμοστίαν τῆς
εὐγενοῦς καὶ σώφρονος ἐξέως."

P.155-156 (1) Ἀγ. Ἰωάν. ὁ Χρυσόστομος : "Τὰ μεγάλα αὐτῷ χαρίζου
μὴ τὰ μικρά... Μὴ ῥήτορα αὐτὸν σπούδαζε ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ φιλοσο-
φεῖν καί δευε... Τρόπων γὰρ χρεῖα, οὐ λόγων, ἡθους, οὐ δεινότη-
τος, ἔργων οὐ ῥημάτων... Μὴ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀκονήσης, ἀλλὰ τὴν
ψυχὴν ἐκκάθαρε." "Οὐ καλύων παιδεύειν ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλὰ καλύων
ἐκείνοις μόνοις κροσέχειν."

P.157 (4) Μιχ. Χωνιάτης: "... καὶ ῥητορικῶς φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ῥητο-
ρεύειν ἐμφιλοσόφως ἐσκέψατο..."

P.163 (2) Ἰσίδ. Πηλουσιώτης: "Γραμματικὴ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμκει-
ρίαν διδάσκειν ἀρχεῖ."

P.168 (3) "Αννα Κομνηνή: "... τοῦ σχεδους ἡ τέχνη εὖρημα τῶν νεωτέρων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενεᾶς, πεττεῖα δὲ τὰς σκούδα-
σμα καὶ ἄλλα τὰ ἔργα ἀθέμιτα."

P.168 (4) "Αννα Κομνηνή (συνέχεια): " Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω ἀχθομένη διὰ τὴν παντελῆ τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδεύσεως ἀμέλειαν. Τοῦτο γὰρ μου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπλέγει, ὅτι κολῶ περὶ ταῦτα ἐνδιατέτριφα καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀκήλαται τῆς καιδαριώδους ταύτης σχολῆς καὶ εἰς ῥητορικὴν καρήγγειλα καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἠψάμην... εἶτα ἐμοὶ κατέ-
γων τῆς πολυκλόκου τῆς σχεδογραφίας κλοπῆς".

P.169 (2,3) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: "... ὥς ἐν αἰνίγματι ἄλ-
λον εἶναι τὸν λαλούμενον λόγον ἕτερον δὲ τὸν νοούμενον. Οἱ
δὲ τὰ σχεδικὰ λαλοῦντες ἀκολουθῶς καὶ αὐτοὶ ν ο ἡ μ α τ α
καλοῦσιν ἅπερ γριφεύονται, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα καὶ δα μ η
τοῦ λεγομένου ἀλλὰ τοῦ νοουμένου γίνεσθαι. " "... Περσημάν-
θη δὲ ἀναγκαίως περὶ τινῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν
'Ιλιάδα, ὧν καὶ ἐν τῷ βῆ ῥ' Ἴσον καὶ "Αντιφον ἐξεναρίζων, ἐνθα
οὐ ῥῆσον λέγει ἀλλὰ τινὰ "Ἴσον."

P.170 (3) Εὐστάθιος Θεσσαλονίκης: " Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρτι τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ
τῶν σχεδικῶν ἐλιγμῶν ἕνα ἐπειλημμένοι καὶ λέξεων εὐκόρως οὐκ
ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ὥς εἰκεῖν λιμώττοντες αἷς περιεργότερον χρήσον-
ται καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κατεξάνεστησαν καὶ χορεύοντες καὶ οἶον
ἀδιαφόρως αὐτὰς συνθεῖλον εἰς ἓν."

P.172 (3) Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός : "... τὴν δὲ Γραμματικὴν, ἢ
γλῶσσαν ἐξελληνίζει, καὶ ἱστορίαν συνάγει, καὶ μέτροις ἐκιστατεῖ,
καὶ νομοθετεῖ κοιήμασιν."

P.174 (5) Θεόδωρος Λάσκαρις, (Αὐτοκράτωρ): " "Εστὶ δὲ τῷ σοφῷ
'Ομήρῳ σκοπὸς ἐπαινεῖν ἀρετὴν διδὼ καὶ πᾶσαν γνῶσιν κρῶς
τοῦτο διὰ τοῦτο αἰχμαλωτίζει."

P.176 (1) "Αγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης : " ... Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ φετο καὶ
παντάσας ἀπρεκές ἢ τὰ τραγικὰ πάθη, ὅσα ἐκ γυναικῶν τὰς ἀρ-
χὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ταῖς κοιηταῖς ἔδωκαν, ἢ τὰς καμφδικὰς
ἡσχημοσύνας, ἀπαλὴν καὶ εὐκλαστον φύσιν διδάσκεσθαι, καταμολυ-
νομένην τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς ἡσεμνοτέροις περὶ τῶν γυναικείων
διηγήμασιν."

P.176 (2) Γρηγόριος ὁ Κύπριος: "... (καὶ ὥς ἡ Τυνδάρως καὶς
ἡρπᾶγη)... καὶ ὥς οἱ καῖδες Οἰδίκοδος κατ' ἀλλήλους μανέντες
ὕκ' ἀλλήλων ἀπώλιντο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ κοιητικὸς χάρς
κατὰ τινὰ τῆς τέχνης αὐτονομίαν κλάττει τε καὶ μυθεύεται."

P.176-177 (1) Μῆχ. Χωνιάτης : "... εἴ τις τῶν φοιτῶντων πυκτίδα

κοινητικήν ὁκὸ μάλην φέρων, ἔδειτο μέτρων μὲν νόμους μυεῖσθαι, καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ἁρμονίας καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνάπτυξιν, ψυχαγω-
σθαι τε κράξεων ἀρχαιολογουμένων μυθεύμασιν..." "... ὁκὸστρεφε
τούτων τε θεωρὸς ἐντελής καὶ τῶν μυστικωτέρων ὁκὸ παράκαν ἁτελέστε-
ρος."

P.177 (2) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "Τοιοῦτος Ὀμοιρίδης ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ὁκὸ κατὰ τοὺς
πολλοὺς προσέχων τῷ γράμματι, οὐδὲ θελγόμενος τῷ μέτρῳ τὴν ἁ-
κοήν, οὐδὲ τῷ φαινομένῳ διδοὺς ἄλλα τὸ ἁπόθετον κάλλος ζητῶν,
λόγῳ καὶ θεωρίᾳ διασχῶν τὴν ὕλην καὶ εἴσω τῶν ἁδύτων γενόμενος·
οὕτω αὐτῷ Ἑκίχαρμοί τε καὶ Ἀρχίλοχοι, Νίκανδροί τε καὶ Πίνδαροι,
καὶ ἡ λοικὴ κοίησις ἐγινώσκετο... Τοιοῦτος ἐκεῖνος περὶ τὰ τοιαῦ-
τα γενόμενος, καὶ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ θέλξας ἁκοήν καὶ διάνοιαν ὅση τε
φιλόσοφος καὶ ὅση φιλόμυθος, τὸ μὲν γλαφυρῶς τῷ μύθῳ ἐκεξερχόμε-
νος, τὸ δὲ ἡρέμα τοῦτον ὁκὸανοίξας καὶ δεξιῶτατα λύων τοῦ νοή-
ματος τὸν δεμῶν, τοῦ μείζονος ἡξιῶθη κατὰ ταῦτα βαθμοῦ, ἐνθα
δὴ καὶ κλέον ἐξέλαμψε χωροῦντα τὸν δίσκον τὸ οἰκεῖον φῶς ἐφευ-
ρῶν."

P.178 (4) Γροττητε ὈΚαίσαρῆας Ἀρέθας : "... ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴ τις ἐθέ-
λῃσει κειθηνίος εἶναι, οὐδὲ μύθους ἁν ἔτ' ἁξιῶη τούτους λογίζε-
σθαι, κραγμάτων δὲ μόνον ἁλληγορίαν ὁξέως πᾶσι τὸ λυσιτελοῦν προ-
μηθουμένην".

P.185 (1) Ἀγ. Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός: "Τῷ Ἀδαμαντίῳ" "Σὺ δὲ μοι
προσένεγκε τῆς σοφιστικῆς μὴ μικρολόγως, μὴδὲ ἁμυδρῶς, ἁλλὰ καὶ
λίαν ἐπιδεικτικῶς καὶ γενναίως ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλοῦ ἁξιον ἡμῖν οἱ
Κυναίγειροι καὶ οἱ Καλλιμάχοι καὶ τὰ τρόκαια Μαραθῶν καὶ Σα-
λαμῖς, ὁφ' ὧν αὐτοί τε αὐδαίμονες εἶναι νομίζεται καὶ κοιεῖν
τοὺς νέους."

P.185 Footnote (1) Τοῦ αὐτοῦ "Τῷ Ἀβλαβίῳ" "Πυνθάνομαί σε σοφι-
στικῆς ἐρᾶν, καὶ τὸ χρῆμα εἶναι θαυμάσιον, οἶον σοβαρὸν φθέγγε-
σθαι, μέγα βλέπειν, βαδίζειν ὁψηλὸν καὶ μετέωρον, τὸ λῆμμα σοι φέ-
ρειν ἐκεῖσε εἰς Μαραθῶνα καὶ Σαλαμίνα, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἡμέτερα καλ-
ωκίσματα· καὶ μὴδὲν ἐννοεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Μιλτιάδης καὶ Κυναιγείρους
καὶ Καλλιμάχους τε καὶ Τηλεμάχους καὶ πάντα ἐσκαυᾶσθαι σοφιστι-
κῶς καὶ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ἐγχειρίσεως."

P.185 (2) Βασίλειος Α' ὁ Μακεδών: "... καὶ μάθοις ἐκεῖθεν τὰς τε
τῶν σκουδαίων ἁρετάς, καὶ τὰς τῶν φαύλων κακίας, τὰς τε τοῦ
βίου πολυτρόκους μεταβολάς, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κραγμάτων τὰς ἐναλ-
λαγὰς, καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἁστατον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐμεταβάκτον
καὶ ἁκλῶς εἰκεῖν, τῶν μέων φαύλων τὰς ἁμοιβάς, τῶν δὲ σκουδαίων

κράξεων τὰς ἀντιδόσεις, ὧν τὰς μὲν φύχης, ἵνα τῆς ἐκείθεν δίκης κείραν μὴ λάβῃς, τὰ δὲ κατορθώσεις, ἵνα τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκάθλων καταξιωθῇς."

P. 186 (5) "Λγ.Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζηνός:" Οἱ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου υἱοῦ Νικοβούλου καῖδες ἤκασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταχυγραφίαν μαθησόμενοι."

P.188 (2) Μόσχου Λειμών : "Μικροῦ δὲ δραμόντος χρόνου, ὅτε καρὰ τοῦ σημειογράφου τελείως καὶ καρὰ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἔξε-
καιδεύθη, παραχρῆμα (ἢ πιστῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρακαταθήκῃ) καρὰ τῶν γονέων παραδίδοται τῷ ἱερεῖ."

P.188 (3) 'Αωνόμου βίος δαΐου Νικολάου τοῦ Στουδίτου: "...ἐκεῖ καθ' ἡλικίαν προβαίνων, τὰς εἰσαγωγικὰς μαθήσεις εὐφυῶς ἄγαν καὶ φολοκόνως ἐξήσκησεν, ἔχρη δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ γραμματικῆς ὅσον κρὸς τὸ γράφειν ὀρθῶς τὴν ἐπιστήμην κορίσασθαι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ταύτην προσείληψε, ταχυγράφος ἀποφανθεὶς χρησιμώτατος."

P.188 (4) Μ.Ι.Γεδεών: Γνώσεις ἐκ τοῦ Τυκικοῦ τῶν Μονῶν τοῦ Γαλησίου "Ορους": Τὸν Λάζαρον, "προστάξει τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ κρὸς τινα νοτάριον, Γεώργιον τοῦνομα, τὴν οἴκησιν εἰς 'Ορόβους ἔχοντα, κρὸς μαθητεῖαν ἀποστέλλουσιν· ἐκείθεν δέ, μετ' ἑτέρας τριετίας ἐκπλήρῳσιν,) λαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτοῦ θεῖος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν μονήν, κρὸς τὸ ἐκπαιδεύθῃναι αὐτὸν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἅμα καὶ ὁκουργοῦντα ἔχειν αὐτῷ... (Μετὰ δὲ τὸ κοιῆσαι ἐν τῇ μονῇ... χρόνους δύο,) ἀποστέλλεται)... εἰς τὴν τοῦ Στροβίλου μονὴν κρὸς νοτάριον τινα, Νικόλαον τοῦνομα, κρὸς περισσοτέραν καιδείαν τῆς τῶν νοταρίων ἐπιστήμης."

P.194 (1) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "Ἐκρίνει τοὺς εἰδότας ἐν κύκλῳ μὲν ἐγγράψαι τρίγωνον, ἐν δὲ τριγώνῳ κύκλον".

P.194 Footnote (7) of previous page : 'Ιωάννης Τζέτζης:

" Πῶς τε θαλάσση γεφυροῦν καὶ κοτῆμοῖς πῶς δέον καὶ πῶς δὲ τὰ κιβώτια καὶ ποδακὰ τῇ θέσει
χρεῶν κατασκευάζεσθαι τὰ τῆς λιμενουργίας
καὶ τὰς ἀνσκαθάρσεις δὲ καὶ κλειθρα τῶν λιμένων
ὥς πάντων τούτων καὶ λοιπῶν μήτηρ γεωμετρία"

P.195 (1) 'Αστέριος 'Αμασείας : "Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὁ γεωμέτρης περὶ τὴν βίβλον καμών, καὶ κληρωθεὶς καρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν ἀκοήν, οὐκ ἄλλως καταλήψεται τῶν κοικίλων σχημάτων τὴν δύναμιν, ἂν μὴ καταμάθῃ τὰ κέντρα καὶ τὰς γραμμὰς καὶ τοὺς κύκλους ἐκ τοῦ κίνακος."

P.195 (2) Footnote "Αννα Κομνηνή : "...ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος τοσοῦτος

την φύσιν, ὥς καὶ μὴ ὄρων τὰ τοῖς ὄρωσι δυστέκμαρτα βεβαίως καταλαμβάνων· κᾶσαν μὲν δὴ ἔκτοτε παιδεῖαν διελθὼν καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν περίκλυτον γεωμετρίαν, τὸ καινότατον, φιλοσόφων τιμὴ ἐντυχὼν διὰ στερεῶν τοῦτο τὰ σχήματα κατέχειν ἐκέταττον· ὁ δὲ τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ψηλαφήσει ἀπάντων τῶν τῆς γεωμετρίας θεωρημάτων τε καὶ σχημάτων ἔσχε κατάληψιν·

P.198 (2) Μιχ. Ψελλός: "... τὸ δὲ ἀληθεύειν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, οὔτε σχηματισμοῖς δίδωμι, οὔτε κλάσεσιν, οὐ φωναῖς ὀρνίθων, οὐ κτήσεσιν, ..., οὐχ ὅσοις ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς λόγος περιεκεκλάνηται."

P.198 (3) Μιχ. Ψελλός: (συνέχεια) " εἰ δέ μοι ἡ τῶν κανόνων κολυπραγμονεῖται ἀκρίβεια τῆς ἀστρονομουμένης σφαίρας, ἀλλὰ γε τοῦτο φιλόκαλον ὁμοῦ καὶ φοβόσοφον, κἂν εἰ περὶ ἀρχῶν ζητῶ καὶ κηγῶν καὶ τοῦτο ψυχαῖς φιλοθεάμοσιν ἐφετόν."

P.198 (4) Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης: "... τοῦτο γέ μιν προδήλως κἂν τοι καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως λυμαίνεται τῇ κίστει καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς χριστιανικῇ θεοσεβείᾳ... Ὅττι γέ μιν καὶ λυμαίνονται τοῖς εὐσεβέσι δόγμασι καὶ κληρῶν νομίμων καὶ σπερμάτων εἰσι γεωργοὶ καὶ μυσταγωγοί, καὶ σφόδρα ἔγωγε τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστρέφομαι καὶ ἀποτροπιάζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οὕτω φρονεῖν ἄξιον".

P.199 (2) Ἀστέριος Ἀμασειᾶς: " Ὁ δὲ μέντοι οὐδὲ τὴν ἀστρονομίαν ἐπιθυμήσαντα ὁ λόγος μόνον παιδεύει τὸ σκουδαζόμενον, ἀν μὴ τὴν σφαῖραν αὐτῇ περιδινήσας ἐπιστημόνως ὁ παιδευτής, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παραδῶ τοῦ πόλου τὴν κίνησιν."

P.200 (1) Βίος ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ ἀπὸ Γρηγορίου κρησβυτέρου: "... τῆς δ' αὖ μουσικῆς ὅσον μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐναρμόνιον ἐκμαθόντες, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς θυμοειδές τε καὶ δυσκᾶθετον ἐξεμάλασσον· τὸ δ' ὅσον πρὸς ἡδονὴν φέρει ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀκεκέμψαντο."

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

"Alexiad" I, 7 (book, chapter or paragraph)

"Annals", 1 (paragraph)

ap. Antonius Melissa I, 20: appears in Antonius Melissa (book, chapter)

"Arethas of Caesarea etc." I, p. 10: "Arethas of Caesarea and his work"
(Part, page)

Baynes: "Byzantine Studies...": N.H.Baynes: "Byzantine Studies and other Essays", (London, 1955)

Baynes and Moss: "Byzantium": N.H.Baynes and H.St.L.B.Moss: "BYZANTIUM, An Introduction to East Roman Civilisation", (Oxford, 1949)

Basil I: BASIL I, THE EMPEROR

St. Basil: - On the Hex. or On Hex. VI,4: Homilia on the Hexameron (speech, paragraph)

- On Psalm 1, 2 (number of psalm, paragraph)

- On Isaiah 1, 3 (number of speech, paragraph)

- On the Proverbs, 1 (paragraph)

- On Humility, 2 (paragraph)

- "Address to Young Men..." 4: "Address to Young Men on the Right Use of the Greek Literature" (paragraph)

- The Longer Rules 1, 3 (chapter, paragraph)

- The Shorter Rules 1 (chapter)

C. Bonis: Euthymius Malakis: Constantine Bonis: "Euthymius Malakis, The Existing Writings" Part II, (Athens, 1949)

B.E.: Byzantine Empire •

"On the Ceremonies" I, 2 (book, chapter)

Epitome of Physics, 1 (1) (chapter, paragraph)

Eust. Thess.: Eustathius of Thessalonica

- Speech III or IV "On the Lent", 1 (paragraph)

- De emendanda vita monachica, 3 (paragraph)

- "On the duty etc", 1: "On the duty of a Christian to obey his magistrate" (paragraph)

George Hamartolus Chronicon I, 2 (4): (book, chapter, paragraph)

"Germanus II etc." IV, 4, p. 235: "Germanus II, Patriarch of Constantinople-Nicaea (1222-1240): His Life, Works and Teaching" (Part, Speech, page)

St. Greg. Naz.: St. Gregory of Nazianzus

- "De filio" 4th, 11 (speech, paragraph)

- "II, On Theology" (second speech, on Theology)

St. Greg. Nyssa: St. Gregory of Nyssa

"Helpful Teaching", 10, 5: Expositiones et Doctrinae Diversae (Number of Doctrina, paragraph)

"Homiliae Spirituales" Speech 26, 17 (number of speech, paragraph)

W. Jaeger: "Two Rediscovered Works etc.": "Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature" (Leiden, 1954)

St. J. Chrys.: St. John Chrysostom. In the following works of St. John the first number indicates speech and the other paragraph.

- On Priesthood IV, 4
- On the Statues, XV, 4
- On David and Saul, I, 4
- On Psalms 1, 2
- On Matthew 1, 3
- On John 1, 4
- On Romans XX, 2
- On Col. IV, 3: On Colossians IV, 3
- On Eph. XX, 4: On Ephesians XX, 4
- On Heb. 9, 2: On Hebrews 9, 2
- On Gal. I: On Galatians Epistle first
- On Cor. I, I, 2: On Corinthians Epistle first (speech, paragraph)
- On Thess. I-II, 1, 4: On Thessaloniceans Epistle first or second (speech, paragraph)
- On Tim. I, I, 1: On Timothy Epistle first (speech, paragraph)
- "How Parents etc." 21: On Vanity and How Parents Should Educate their Children (paragraph)

St. John Dam.: St. John of Damascus

- Sacred Parallels A, 4 (Littera, title of item)

Is. Pelus.: Letters II, 18: Isidore Pelusiotes: Letters (book, number of letter)

K. Krumbacher G.B.L., 4: Karl Krumbacher: Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur (paragraph)

Ladder of Paradise, grade VII, 14 (grade, number of item)

Library of Fathers: A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. (Oxford, 1892,

Life of St. Theodore of Studium I, 3 or II, 3 (the Latin number indicates the first or the second biography, the latter paragraph)

"Mich. Acom. etc." vol. I, p. 14: "Michael Acominatus, the Existing Writings" (volume, page)

M. Choniates:—Letters, 4, 1 (number of letter, paragraph)

—"Oratio to Eustathius": "Monodia in Eustathium Thessalonicensis"

On Michael Palaeologos I, 1: (book, chapter)

Migne P.G. 44, 536: J.P.Migne: Patrologia Graeca (volume, column)

Nic. Gregoras I, 3: Nicephorus Gregoras: "Historia Byzantina" (book, chapter)

"Novellae Constitutiones", 115, 2 (number of Constitution /order/, paragraph)

Patriarch Nicolas I; Letters, 92: Nicolas I, Patriarch of Constantinople (number of letter)

Photius' Letters, I, 8, 3 (book, letter, paragraph)

"Preparatio Evangelica", XII, 17 (book, chapter)

Procopius of Gaza: Panegyric to Anastasius: Panegyricus in Imperatorem Anastasius

K. Sathas: B.G.M.: K. Sathas: "Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη."

Socrates Eccl. Hist. IV, 9: Socrates Scholasticus Ecclesiastical History (book, chapter)

Sozomenos: Eccl. Hist. VI, 10: Hermias Sozomenos Ecclesiastical History (book, chapter)

Theodore of Studium:

- Punishments, 3 (number of item)

- Letters, II, 15 (number of letter, paragraph)

Theodoretus Eccl. Hist. IV, 3: "Theodoretī Episcopi Cyrensis Ecclesiasticae Historiae" (book, chapter)

Zonaras J. "Epitomae Historiarum" I, 2 (14): (book, paragraph, line)

Zosimus III, 11, p. 140: Zosimus Historia Nova (book, chapter, page)

NOTE: Whenever after the title of a work there is one number it usually indicates paragraph.